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THE PROPHECIES RELATING TO NINEVEH AND THE ASSYRIANS.*

For a long time the Hebrew Prophets seemed to be our chief vouchers for the little that was known or believed of Assyrian history. But for Nahum and Jonah we might hardly have felt sure that Nineveh was really the capital of that ancient empire; indeed the latter, by his picture of its enormous size, gave occasion for all kinds of sceptical doubts among modern *philosophical historians* as to its having even existed. It was a perfect marvel how so huge a city should have intirely vanished without leaving a ruin or a trace of itself behind. The modern traveller wrote, with wonder bordering on incredulity,

> "Ages have passed; the Tigris flows
> In rushy bed and calm repose,
> Through wide and lonely plains;
> But not one single stone, to tell
> Where monarchs ruled and nations fell,
> Of Nineveh remains."
>
> (R. Bernal, M.P., in *Keepsake*, 1831.)

But since Mr. Layard's discoveries, doubt and scepticism have given place to patient antiquarian research; and it is now evident that the history of Assyria will have to be written afresh whenever its long-buried monuments shall have been fully deciphered and investigated. Meantime there is nothing more interesting to the student of ancient history than the Nineveh sculptures. And in connection with these new discoveries in Assyrian history and antiquities, the student of the Old Testament Scriptures feels a renewed interest in those prophecies which allude to that great empire in connection with the fate of the Jewish nation. Hence Mr. Smith's book.

His fitness for the task which he has undertaken is well known to all interested (as most of our readers are) in the Theological department of the Manchester New College, where he has held the Chair of Critical and Exegetical Theology for the last ten years. If more public proof of his Biblical learning, critical

* The Prophecies relating to Nineveh and the Assyrians. Translated from the Hebrew, with Historical Introductions and Notes, exhibiting the Principal Results of the Recent Discoveries. By George Vance Smith, B.A. Post 8vo. Pp. 298. London—Longman and Co. 1857.

care and skill, and thorough reverence for the Scriptures, be desired, it is now furnished through the press at the moment (we grieve to think) of his relinquishing his academical post. Our best wish for the College, and our most earnest intreaty to those who henceforth divide his office among them, is, that the study of the Scriptures in their original languages may still be as fully and faithfully pursued as has hitherto been the case for above fifty years (not to go back beyond living memory) under the successive guidance of Wellbeloved, Wallace and Vance Smith. On this sore subject we must say no more, but we could not say less, in connection with the appearance of the book before us.*

It is curious to look into the standard histories of a generation ago, and to see how concisely, how clearly and undoubtingly, the history of the Assyrian empire was narrated;—or empires, rather, for *two* were quietly assumed in order to cut some gordian knots in the tangled thread of tradition. Rollin and Tytler, our authorities in the days "when George the Third was king," and when we were at school, taught us as elementary facts in ancient history, that the first Assyrian empire was founded by Nimrod and subsisted 1450 years till the time of Sardanapalus, when Arbaces, governor of the Medes, and Belesis, governor of Babylon, threw off the yoke of that effeminate prince; and that three monarchies arose from the ruins of this empire,—that of Nineveh or the second Assyrian empire, that of Babylon, and that of the Medes.

Historians have learnt to speak more doubtfully since. Mr. Vance Smith, in his general introduction, thus endeavours to present the principal ascertained or probable facts bearing upon "the early history of the Assyrian people and their relation to their Babylonian neighbours."

"In the most ancient historical times to which we can ascend, many centuries before the appearance of the Assyrians in the Scriptures under their king Pul, or Phul, there existed, we have good reason to believe, on the banks of the Lower Euphrates, a large and populous community, or state;—whether a considerable empire under one head, or only a collection of cities, each self-governed, but yet united together by common bonds of race, language, and commercial intercourse, has not

* We would direct attention to an admirable criticism on Mr. Vance Smith's volume in the *Inquirer* of Aug. 22. The judicious reader will not find it difficult to assign the authorship of the article to the most learned man in the Unitarian body. We cannot forbear strengthening the praises awarded to Mr. Smith by our own reviewer, by quoting the opening passage of our contemporary: "This volume, by the late Professor of Theology in Manchester New College, will fully support the favourable opinion expressed on several recent occasions, of his attainments as a scriptural critic and Hebrew scholar. Along with the works of Wallace, Beard and Higginson, it is well fitted to give an idea of what may be called, neither presumptuously nor invidiously, the York school of Biblical criticism,—a school which, we trust, is not destined to become a mere tradition." Though unable to share the confidence expressed in the latter words, we venture to express the anxious hope that Biblical criticism may still be faithfully and successfully cultivated in our College.—Ed. C. R.

perhaps as yet been sufficiently ascertained. Of this ancient community the regions now known as Babylonia and Chaldæa were the native home; and Babylon was, probably, the principal and oldest city."—P. 6.

"To the ancient Babylonian period of which we have spoken, belong several facts which may be stated on the authority of Sir H. Rawlinson's communication to the Athenæum so often referred to. A monarchy existed at least as early as 1976, and continued until the year 1518, B.C. Nor, as before observed, was this the earliest organised government established in those countries. For it would appear that there were earlier dynasties still, through a lapse of several previous centuries; of which, however, from the nature of the case, little but what is conjectural can be affirmed. To confine ourselves, therefore, to what may be termed comparatively modern times, we have to notice that one of the sovereigns of the line that reigned between 1976 and 1518 was named Ismi-dakan (or -dagon); who lived about the year 1870, and ruled over Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldæa. He was succeeded by his son Shamasphal, the founder of a temple that was restored by the Assyrian king Tiglath Pileser the First, in the twelfth century B.C., after having existed for a period of seven hundred years:—for such is the record found on an inscribed cylinder from the ruins of Kalah-Shergat, the site of one of the oldest Assyrian capitals. This ancient line of kings is said to have been followed by an Arab dynasty, which ruled until the year B.C. 1273, but of which no certain traces have been found as yet upon the monuments.

"There are two or three passages of the Old Testament, referring obscurely to the Assyrian or Babylonian power, which probably belong to the period over which we have thus glanced. For example, in Genesis xiv. a 'king of Shinar' is represented, along with a king of Elam and other chiefs, as making an expedition into the country of Abraham, and conquering the native kings. This occurrence may be well connected with the existence of an ancient government, or collection of confederate cities, on the Lower Euphrates. Indeed the narrative of the sacred writer lends evident support, or confirmation, to that supposition.

"Again, in Judges iii. 8—10, a king of Mesopotamia (or Aram-Naharaim) is stated to have conquered the Israelites. This must have been at an early date in the period of the Judges, and long before the foundation of the Hebrew monarchy in the eleventh century B.C. It appears, therefore, to correspond with the time of the Babylonian government, which existed previous to the year 1273; and the passage may be understood to refer to some expedition into the country of the Israelites similar to that of Genesis xiv.

"Another allusion is of a more obscure and difficult character. It is found in Numbers xxiv. 22—24; where Asshur probably means Assyria. Whatever the interpretation of these verses, they have been appealed to as evidence that the Pentateuch could not have existed, as we now have it, till after the commencement of the Assyrian inroads upon Palestine in the eighth century B.C. It is evident, however, that they cannot be adduced with any effect for such a purpose. For Asshur becomes powerful and prominent in the thirteenth century; and an Assyro-Babylonian state, or confederation of states, earlier still. Judging from the instances just cited, even the latter must have been known to any contemporaneous writer of history or laws among the Hebrews. A reference, therefore,

to the dangers threatened by Assyria to neighbouring nations, is no sure proof of lateness of composition.

"The same remark applies to some other passages in which the Assyrians, or their country, are mentioned in the Mosaic books;—as, Gen. ii. 14; xxv. 18.

"Beyond the slight notices which have just been stated, we have no evidence in the books of Scripture of the existence of any empire in the countries to the south of Assyria, such as we have hitherto spoken of. It may be expected that a further knowledge of the Cuneiform writing will throw light upon this, as upon other obscure points. Meantime, assuming the reality of this ancient government, we have to ask what relation did the Assyrians and their great city Nineveh bear to it? Most probably, if the latter were of any importance at all, they were as yet subject to the southern power. The great centres of population in ancient times, including some of the largest and oldest cities, in most instances existed on, or near, rivers, and in the midst of fertile plains or valleys;—the latter being an obvious condition of a large population. Hence it may be inferred that the flat and well-watered countries about the Lower Euphrates and Tigris were the earliest abodes of a numerous and settled people, and the seats of regular government. Assyria with its cities, lying far to the north, at a great distance from the sea, and on the borders of rough mountainous regions, would thus in all probability be colonised from the south; a statement which is in harmony with the Scriptural account (Gen. x. 8—12) representing Asshur as going out of the land of Shinar to found Nineveh and other cities of Assyria. We may properly, therefore, regard the latter country as originally a part of the more ancient Babylonian state; and it was probably not until the thirteenth century B.C. that it succeeded in throwing off its allegiance to Babylon, preparatory to becoming, as it eventually did, the supreme ruling power. We are informed by Herodotus that the Assyrians had held possession of Upper Asia for 520 years previously to the revolt of the Medes, an event which took place, there is reason to believe, in the eighth century B.C. This statement gives us of course the thirteenth century for the commencement of the independence of the former people, or rather of their dominion over adjoining countries. It need not, however, be supposed that Assyria attained at this time a complete and undisputed empire over South-western Asia. It is more likely that for some time it would have to contend for supremacy, both with the Babylonians and with other neighbouring peoples. And that this was the case appears from a notice of a battle between a king of Babylon and a king of Assyria, about 1120 B.C., still to be seen in a rock inscription at Bavian, some hours' journey to the north-east of Khorsabad.

"This gradual and contested attainment of supreme power may help to account for the circumstance that during the reigns of David and Solomon, from about 1050 to 975, although the dominion of these kings is believed to have extended north-eastward as far as the Euphrates, we meet with no trace of any collision between the Israelites and the Assyrians. The latter were, as yet, only forming and consolidating their power; and it was not until after the monarchy of David and Solomon had been split into two, often hostile, kingdoms, and so weakened as to promise but little resistance, that the great eastern conquerors began to be really formidable to the people of Palestine. The small Syrian

kingdoms must, however, by this time have been visited by the Assyrians, if, as there is reason to believe, the latter had already pushed their expeditions as far as the countries about the head-waters of the Tigris and Euphrates. But the able and victorious rule of David seems to have deterred them from any attempt to penetrate to the Mediterranean by Palestine; and it must not be forgotten that Egypt, too, was at this time a powerful empire which had perhaps more than once sent its forces as far as the Euphrates. The Assyrians, sufficiently occupied with their nearer conquests, or troubled by internal dissensions, would be in no condition to encounter such opponents as either the Israelites under David, or the Egyptians under kings like Shishak."—Pp. 9—13.

In this cautious, and as it were provisional, manner must the most ancient periods of Assyrian history be now written.* But "we soon come to the beginning of a series of powerful kings (from Tiglath Pileser the First downwards), many of whose names and dates have with more or less certainty been recovered from the inscriptions," and who soon bring us into connection with the Scripture history and prophecies. The second and following sections of the "general introduction" are therefore devoted to the illustration of the Biblical period, including the first invasions by Pul and Tiglath Pileser, the captivity of the ten tribes and Sennacherib's invasion; with a chapter on the successors of

* In Kenrick's Phœnicia (p. 371) we incidentally meet with a clear abstract of what is really known or fairly believed respecting the rise of the Assyrian power, joined with an anticipation of new light from the inscriptions:

"The discoveries in Assyrian antiquities will probably throw light on the rapid rise or expansion of the empire of which Nineveh was the capital. Whatever its absolute antiquity may have been, it can scarcely have extended itself to the westward of the Euphrates before the middle of the eighth century B.C. In the south, the kingdom of David and Solomon included the region between Palestine and the river; their successors may have confined themselves within narrower limits, but it was not because they had come into collision with an Assyrian or Babylonian power. In the north, the Syrian kingdom of Damascus appears to have reached to the Euphrates, equally without opposition from Assyria. The great cities of Nineveh and Babylon had existed, no doubt, for ages; but they had hitherto been contented with the wealth which the commerce of the East, the fertility of their own soil, and the beauty of their manufactures had supplied. Their intercourse with the countries lying on the Mediterranean had hitherto been carried on by means of the tribes of the Desert, who brought the productions of the East to Phœnicia, to be diffused over the West by its fleets. But when the Assyrian Monarchy, by incorporating the Chaldeans, assumed a character so entirely military, the acquisition of the rich countries of Western Asia became immediately the object of its sovereigns' ambition. And in the midst of all the vicissitudes occasioned by the transference of empire from the Assyrians to the Babylonians, from the Babylonians to the Medes, from the Medes to the Persians, this plan of conquest was steadily pursued, till the whole line of sea-coast from the eastern extremity of the Euxine to the western limits of Egypt had been brought into subjection. Independently of the spirit of military aggrandizement, which continued to actuate the Assyrian Monarchy and its successors for nearly three centuries from Pul to Xerxes, reasons of public policy were not wanting to justify the desire of an extension of its dominion westward. The example of Macedonia under Philip, of Russia since the commencement of the last century, shews how earnestly a nation, awaking to a consciousness of its own position, and finding itself excluded from the sea, struggles to reach it, and by force or fraud gain a footing on the highway of nations."

Sennacherib to the fall of the empire, and one on Nineveh, its situation, magnitude and commerce. On all these subjects Mr. Smith has collected, we believe, all accessible information; and truly invaluable are the stores thus brought together, while we are warned by him, however, not to trust too confidently or hastily in the asserted decipherment of the Cuneiform characters. For instance, in a note (p. 19) to a passage designed to identify the Phal-lukha of a certain monument deciphered by Rawlinson with the Pul of the Old Testament, it is most candidly noticed "that Dr. Hincks, instead of *Phal-lukha* would read *Nin-ukh*, i. e. the Ninus of Greek tradition—not, however, the great conqueror of that name, but a much later king, who had a wife Semiramis, so called after the wife of the ancient Ninus." Who shall decide (we may well apply the old proverb) when such doctors disagree? We must be content to use such knowledge as is ascertained, and to feel that we are in the way to more. As "the name of Shalmanezer has not, as yet, been discovered on the Assyrian monuments," much, one would think, must remain to be done in their decipherment or the discovery of others, though conjecture is not wholly at a loss (p. 32) to supply the cause of this remarkable omission.

To the general introduction succeed in chronological order those writings of the Jewish prophets which refer to Assyria. These are parts of Isaiah, Nahum, Jonah, and a few verses from Zephaniah and Ezekiel. They are presented in an original translation, and of course in the form of Hebrew verse, and each portion is preceded by a personal notice of the prophet and his times. Joel is not included, because, says Mr. Smith, "I have never been able to see that, by *locusts*, Joel can have intended anything but locusts." He also regards Joel as earlier than the time when the Assyrians inflicted injury on Judah. The chapter from Ezekiel (the thirty-first) is not perhaps strictly intitled to be included among prophecies relating to Assyria, as it does not relate to that empire *prophetically*, but is addressed to Pharaoh, king of Egypt, after the overthrow of the former power, the fate of which is simply pointed to as a warning to Egypt.

Isaiah occupies of course the principal part of the book. Mr. Smith thinks he first came prominently forward on occasion of the league between the Syrian and Israelitish kings Rezim and Pekah, of which he thus speaks:

"Under the influence, most probably, of Egypt, the two kings sought, as we may remember, to conquer Judah and to place a nominee of their own on the throne at Jerusalem. They deemed it necessary, we may infer, that the whole West of Asia should present a united front to the expected onslaught of the Assyrians. Hence also the Moabites, and other neighbouring tribes, as we gather from detached prophecies of Isaiah (ch. xv. xvi.; xxi. 11—17), were included in the league, making the position of Ahaz one of great and imminent danger. This view of

the state of affairs finds confirmation in some obscure allusions in Isaiah's contemporary, Hosea, to alliances with Egypt and Assyria:—e.g., Hos. vii. 11; ix. 3; xi. 5—11; xii. 1. There are also one or two expressions to the same effect in the older portion of the book of Zechariah, viz., x. 9, seq. (Comp. 2 Kings xvii. 4.)"—P. 77.

The prophecy on this occasion will serve as well as any to shew Mr. Smith's ability and taste as a translator:

"And it came to pass in the days of Ahaz, son of Jotham, son of Uzziah, king of Judah, that Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, son of Remaliah, king of Israel, came up to Jerusalem, to war against it, but could not prevail against it. And it was told to the house of David, saying, Syria is encamped upon Ephraim: and his heart was moved, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the forest are moved before the wind. Then said Jehovah unto Isaiah, Go forth, now, to meet Ahaz, thou and Shear-jashub thy son, to the end of the conduit of the upper pool, to the highway of the fuller's field; and say unto him,

Take heed and be quiet,
Fear not, nor let thy heart become faint,
By reason of the two tails of these smoking firebrands,
For the fierce anger of Rezin and Syria, and the son of Remaliah.
Because that Syria hath devised evil against thee,
Ephraim and the son of Remaliah, saying,
Let us go up against Judah and besiege it,
And force our way into it,
And set as king in the midst of it the son of Tabeal;
Thus saith the Lord Jehovah,
It shall not stand, nor come to pass.
For the head of Syria is Damascus,
And the head of Damascus Rezin,
(And within sixty and five years shall Ephraim be destroyed that it be not a people,)
And the head of Ephraim Samaria,
And the head of Samaria the son of Remaliah:
If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established.

And Jehovah again spake unto Ahaz, saying,
Ask for thyself a sign from Jehovah thy God,
Ask it in the depth, or in the height above.
And Ahaz said, I will not ask, neither will I tempt Jehovah.
Then he said, Hear now, oh house of David,
Is it too small a thing for you to weary men,
That ye will weary my God also?
Wherefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign;
Behold the virgin hath conceived, and shall bear a son,
And call his name Immanuel;
Milk and honey shall he eat,
That he may know to refuse the evil and to choose the good;
For before the child shall know to refuse the evil and choose the good,
The land shall be made desolate, before whose two kings thou fearest.

Jehovah shall bring upon thee,
And upon thy people, and upon the house of thy father,

Days such as have not come since Ephraim departed from Judah;
(The king of Assyria).
And it shall come to pass in that day,
That Jehovah shall hist for the fly
Which is in the uttermost part of the rivers of Egypt,
And to the bee which is in the land of Assyria;
And they shall come and alight, all of them,
In the precipitous valleys and the clefts of the rocks,
And on all thorn-bushes and on all pastures.
In that day Jehovah shall shave with the hired blade,
By the dwellers-beyond the River, by the king of Assyria,
The head and the hair of the feet;
And also the beard shall it take away.
And it shall come to pass in that day,
That a man shall keep a young cow and two sheep;
And it shall come to pass, from the abundance of milk which they shall yield,
That he shall eat butter;
For butter and honey shall every-one eat that is left in the land.
And it shall come to pass in that day, that every place
Where are a thousand vines worth a thousand *pieces* of silver,
Shall become briars and thorns.
With arrows and with the bow shall one go there;
For the whole land shall become briars and thorns.
And all the hills which were digged with the spade,
There shalt thou not go through fear of briars and thorns;
And they shall be for the sending-forth of cattle,
And for the treading of lesser-cattle."—Pp. 96—102.

Copious explanatory notes occupy the foot of each page, and a few critical ones are added at the end of the book. In the foot-notes on the present chapter, of course the significant names of the children *Shear-jashub* and *Immanuel* are explained, as is also that of *Maher-shalal-hash-baz* in the next chapter; and we are left to infer pretty confidently that the second (like the other two about whom all doubt is precluded) was a son of the prophet himself. Mr. Smith quotes indeed Bishop Lowth's *typical* interpretation (which refers the passage to Jesus Christ), and leaves the reader to judge for himself how far it is admissible. We should have preferred a more decisive tone here and elsewhere, in reference to various critical questions on which we suppose the author's views are clear and decided; but this fault may perhaps be chargeable upon the publishers, or, beyond them, upon the public, who do not always like plain-spoken truth. Heretical criticism finds no publisher except at the author's risk. For instance: the author avoids the plain avowal of the obvious theory of a second Isaiah, when actually mentioning the fact that the latter part of the book relates to events between one and two hundred years later than the first part. We are left to infer rather than distinctly told, that the Jewish prophecies had no original and true reference to such a Messianic age as they have

been applied to by Christians. Among explanatory notes so minute and profuse, we are surprised to find no explanation of the "everlasting burnings" on p. 207, and of the phrase "for ever," p. 209, where the connection illustrates so satisfactorily that scripture idiom on which the most awful and horrible religious terrors are founded in the popular theology. Nor does it seem consistent with the introductory notice of the book of Jonah, which plainly regards that book as neither historical nor biographical, to reproduce among the notes on the first chapter Archbishop Newcome's sapient remark as follows: "We have but an imperfect acquaintance with the natural history of fishes. However, it is a well-attested fact that sharks grow to a size capable of swallowing and containing a man." A firmer hand would, we think, have been well applied in these and similar instances. But the material is carefully collected, and the reader is enabled, though we may think not sufficiently assisted, to form a rational judgment for himself. On the magnificent figure under which Isaiah anticipates the Messianic period,—

> "Then the wolf shall dwell with the lamb,
> And the leopard shall lie down with the kid;
> And the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling together,
> And a little child shall lead them.
> The cow and the bear shall feed,
> Their young ones shall lie down together,
> And the lion shall eat straw like the ox;"—

we could have spared the very literal paraphrase that "Under the rule of this Prince of Peace even fierce animals shall lose their natural dispositions and dwell quietly with those on which they have been accustomed to prey;" and we looked for a stronger assertion of critical opinion than this *perhaps:*

> "We may understand these statements, *not perhaps* as giving us the literal expectation of the prophet, but rather as poetically and figuratively descriptive of the happy period to which he was looking forward."*

We suppose it was an unreasonable expectation (indeed, we did not really expect it, though we still long for something of the kind, and it may come in due time) to see the prophecies relating to Nineveh and the Assyrians set side by side, or else alternating, with the illustrative history, so as to leave upon the reader a more uniformly progressive impression than that which he now gains from the various departments of General Introduction, Prophets' Life and Times, and translated Prophecy with illustrative notes. The books of the Jewish prophets them-

* A very insufficient device for distinguishing two almost synonymous words of the original is adopted by Mr. Smith, namely that of writing the one with a capital letter in English. Thus, Nahum iii. 14, "Go into the clay and tread the Clay;" and in the next verse, "Make thyself many as the locust, Make thyself many as the Locust." Other translators use two English words nearly synonymous in such cases.

selves suggest this method, by the explanatory notices occasionally placed at the head of some of their oracles. (See Isaiah vii. 1—4, viii. 1—4, &c.) It would be but the extension of this plan, to insert between the successive prophecies the intervening history, as derived positively, proximately, or with the aid of free conjecture (distinguished, of course, as such), from the historical Scriptures, from general history, or from the newly-found inscriptions. Mr. Smith has placed the prophecies in their probable historical order—very different from that in which they stand as collected in the book of Isaiah; and this, with his very careful investigation of the contemporary history, as shewn in the general introduction, seems to prove the possibility of producing by a re-arrangement of the materials of this book, such a series of historical incidents alternating with the prophetic utterances, as would present the whole subject in new and graphic light to the reader. Thanking Mr. Smith for the book as it is, may we wish him the speedy occasion of a demand for a second edition, to consider whether, having given the first to scholars, he may not indulge us, the general readers of Scripture, with that kind of pictorial edition which we have endeavoured to describe. We are great babies, loving easy reading, in this boasted age of education; and this taste is so much indulged in purely secular studies, that it is apt to assert itself also in those which are directly scriptural. But the Isaiah of the Pictorial Bible itself would be obliged to yield the palm to the Nineveh prophecies illustrated, as now suggested, by parallels of history preceding and following.

REAL PROGRESS CONSERVATIVE.

Can there be *progress* which is not *progression*, which does not leave a past from which to start, on which to rest our foot when we spring forward? No wise man kicks the ladder from beneath him, or obliterates the traces of the road through which he has travelled, or pulls down the memorials he has built by the wayside. We cannot *get on* without linking our present and our future with our past. All reaction is destructive, all progress conservative. When we have destroyed that which the past built up, what reward have we? we are forced to fall back, and have to begin anew. "Novelty," as Lord Bacon says, "cannot be content to add, but it must deface." For this very reason novelty is not progress, as the French would try to persuade themselves and us. We gain nothing by defacing and trampling down the idols of the past to set up new ones in their places—let it be sufficient to leave them behind us, measuring an advance by keeping them in sight.—*Mrs. Jameson's Commonplace-Book.*

THE WRITINGS OF SIR EDWIN SANDYS.

It will form a fitting sequel to the short series of articles descriptive of the life and public services of Sir Edwin Sandys, if we attempt to give an account of the two works which have been attributed to his authorship, one in poetry, the other in prose.

Of the poetical volume, it cannot be said with absolute certainty that he was the author. Anthony Wood (Athen. Oxon. II. 474) declines to decide whether it were his work or that "of another of both his names, of Latimers in Bucks." In a case like this, where the early authorities felt that they had not sufficient evidence before them to justify a positive conclusion, it would be rash in us to form one. We may content ourselves with stating the fact that the date of the publication offers no difficulty in the way of attributing it to Sir Edwin Sandys, of Northborne; and we may further venture to express the opinion that the style and the prevalent tone of thought and feeling in the poems are not unsuitable to the author of the "Europæ Speculum."

But quite independently of its authorship, the volume is deserving of notice as an early effort of English psalmody. As soon as the Reformation had unsealed the books of holy writ, England was influenced by what Warton calls "the infectious phrensy of sacred song;" and within a very few years of the national change of faith, there were published various English metrical translations of scripture passages deemed most suitable to the muse. Most of these were, what Churchyard ingenuously styled some of his own lines, "sad and heavy verses." Perhaps our readers may think the passages we shall quote from the version of Edwin Sandys no exception to this lugubrious description.

The title of the very rare volume of which we have now to speak is, "Sacred Hymns, consisting of Fifti Select Psalms of David and others, paraphrastically turned into English Verse, and by Robert Tailour set to be sung in Five Parts, as also to the Viole and Lute or Orpharion.* Published for the use of such as delight in the Exercise of Music in her original Honour. London, printed by Thomas Snodham, by the Assignment of the Company of Stationers. 1615." 4to, pp. 138. The work opens with an address to the Deity, of which, if the style is sometimes abrupt, it is vigorous; and whatever fault may be found with the metre, it will be conceded that the thoughts are lofty and noble.

* The orpharion was one of a class of musical instruments greatly in fashion in the seventeenth century, but which began to be disused during the reign of Charles II. from the idea that it tended to deform the female figure. It was like a guitar, but had a scolloped body, a slanting bridge, and was strung with wire. We imagine no one need regret that it was allowed to sink into disuse.

"In Thee we live; move, Lord, by Thee;
From Thee pure minds, Thee knowing, light derive.
How then, save through Thy grace, may we
That honour high to sing Thy bliss atchieve?
Then Thou draw up my low desire,
And love of Thee let noble thoughts inspire!"

In a subsequent address to the Deity, the thoughts are rather philosophical than scriptural; and amidst lines prevailingly rugged, some verses stand out full of vigour.

"But Thy blest time unmoving stands, aye perfect, void of change,
With Thee eternal, present all, unknowing first or last,
Desiring nothing yet to come, regretting nothing past.
Thou infinite (great self-being Lord!), first, highest, pure, unmixt,
Unbounded, sole, to all Thy works well-measured bounds hast fixt.
That glorious sun, fair moon and stars, finite since we do know,
Nor Gods themselves, and made by Thee, more glorious light may show.
* * * *
For Thou perfection oh entire! perfections all contain'st;
No good not in Thee, above Thee none; whole Good, pure bliss remain'st.
What beauties eye, what mind delight, what sweetness draw'th desire;
What majesties we high revere, what glorious states admire;
What wisdom richly vests the mind, and makes it all possess,
Redoubling all by light-drawn shapes; what Goodness things doth bless
Effusing round itself; from thence what virtues noble spring,
By worthy acts to cheer the world and better age to bring;
What happy life our thoughts conceive (for ah! how small a mite
Of happy life we here enjoy!), what joy, what dear delight,
What flagrant pleasures, full and near, in blessed state are found,
In Thee, great Fountain of them all, united all abound."

As a specimen of the "paraphrastic turning" of the Psalms of David, we select the version of Ps. cvii.

"To seas in ships, who (Art's chief work) descend,
Adventurous hearts, by trade, penurious state to mend;
Or spacious lakes who pass, what wondrous sight,
Strange works of God in deep, their stirring looks affright.
Lo! straight his word tempestuous wind doth rear,
And roughest frowns on seas late smiling face appear.
Anon toward Heaven on back of arched wave
They mount, dismount in trice tow'rds Hell's unlovely cave.
As drunk they reel; their melting hearts 'gin fail;
Nought toil, nought careful course of master's skill avail.
In case extreme, when lo! to God they cry,
Who gracious hears grieved voice, and help from Heav'n bids try,
Strait winds repose, smooth heav'n-calmed seas regain,
Hearts joy, works cheer; till safe they long-long'd haven attain.
Then thankful oh! to God, his grace confess,
His marvels great to men with joyous tongues express;
And let God's church, let faithful people hear
Vow'd praise, in senate grave his mercies rare endear."

Of the merit of the music of Robert Taylour, to which these

and the other Psalms of Edwin Sandys are set, we can offer no opinion. The only copy of the volume we have had the opportunity of using is in the Bodleian Library, and in Oxford we have not the means of submitting it to the judgment of a skilled musician.

As a poet, Edwin Sandys must certainly yield the laurel to his younger brother George, whom Pope was pleased to study, and whom Dryden praised as the best versifier of his day. That there was poetry in the Sandys blood is also confirmed by the fact, that amongst the collateral descendants of Edwin and George were two bards, — Thomas Stanley, who won higher praise as a classical scholar and a historian of philosophy, and James Hammond, whose elegies were, notwithstanding Dr. Johnson's sneers respecting them, the genuine expressions of a hopeless passion, under which the poet sighed away his reason and his life.

As a writer of prose, Sir Edwin Sandys will, when his merits are generally known, take a higher rank, and will be regarded as one who has not unworthily used the language of his master, Hooker, to defend truths to which men of large views have never been indifferent. The work on which his literary reputation rests, and to which we have made frequent allusion, bears this title: "Europæ Speculum; or a View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Western Parts of the World. Wherein the Roman Religion, and the pregnant Policies of the Church of Rome to support the same, are notably displayed; with some other memorable Discoveries and Commemorations." This work was composed in 1599, when he was bringing to a close his travels, which were chiefly undertaken with the design, as laudable as rare in a young man of rank, of viewing the state of religion in the principal European states. The first draught of the essay appears, from a date given at the end, to have been finished at Paris, April 9, 1599. It was dedicated to Dr. Whitgift, who, after succeeding Sandys and Bullingham in the Bishopric of Worcester, had on the death of Archbishop Grindal been translated to the Primacy.

The literary history of this work is singular. It remained for some years in manuscript, but probably was in that state largely circulated. Several MS. copies of it are deposited in the Bodleian,—a manifest proof of the interest which from the first it excited. In the year 1605, a copy of it fell by some means into the hands of Simon Waterson, a bookseller in St. Paul's Churchyard, who printed an edition under the title of "A Relation of the State of Religion." This spurious edition, wanting the author's name and the dedication to Archbishop Whitgift, and full of adulterated passages, found an immediate and wide circulation; and before the author could take means to suppress this piracy, a second impression was put forth. Anthony Wood's

statement is remarkable: "The book was esteemed so much by scholars, and thereupon cried up at home for a brave piece of ingenuity, that it was forthwith translated into French, and printed, I think, at Paris.* But as soon as 'twas finish'd, the printer, to his great sorrow, received information that it would be called in and suppressed (as it was shortly after); whereupon he dispersed most of the copies into remote parts, before he did dispose any at home, and so was a gainer by his politics." Sir Edwin Sandys took proceedings against the publisher and printer, and the work was prohibited, and all the copies unsold were burnt. The first genuine edition appeared in 1629, and was printed at the Hague (in small 4to) from "a perfect Copie, verbatim transcribed from the Author's Originall, and legitimate one of his own handwriting." The copy thus used, though not printed till 1629, bears date October 2, 1618. Anthony Wood speaks of one of the copies in the Bodleian as being "under the author's hand." His statement refers, we have no doubt, to that in the Rawlinson Collection, which is the spurious edition of 1605, with MS. additions and corrections executed in a peculiarly neat Italian MS., differing, however, very decidedly from the MS. of Sir Edwin Sandys.† Anthony Wood says that the edition of 1629 was published by the author himself. This he would scarcely have stated had he seen a copy of the Hague edition; but rich as the Bodleian Library is in copies of the *Europæ Speculum*, both printed and in MS., it does not possess this, the best and rarest edition. The editor, in the Preface to the reader (which was abridged or wholly omitted in later editions), says in reference to the volume,—"*It may bee I hereby shall incurre some dislike from the learned author (if he be yet living), who haply in his modestie, and for some other causes best known unto himselfe (for some writers love not to have their labours published in their lifetime), hath so long obscured and suppressed his pregnant view from the world's publique view, further than now and then by communicating it unto his friends, such as importuned him to have it copied out: And certes, though I profess to honour him with all my heart, yet I thinke it better he be herein displeased than the world longer wronged, and with all hoping, however, that hee will candidly construe it to be but amoris error.*"

It is probable that the editor of the Hague edition was Lewis Owen, author of the *Speculum Jesuiticum*, of which an edition was published in 1632 as an appendix to a London edition of the *Europæ Speculum*. He was an eager writer on the Popish controversy, and had, as Anthony Wood truly says, "a rambling head." All that we know of him is, that he was a native of

* The French edition was, according to Watt's Bibliotheca, printed at Geneva in 1626.

† Of Sir Edwin Sandys's handwriting, an interesting specimen was presented in fac-simile by Mr. Keble in his invaluable edition of Hooker.

Merionethshire, born about 1572; that he was a student at Christchurch, Oxford, in 1590; that he quitted the University without a degree, and travelled into various countries of Europe; that in Spain he was induced to conform to Popery, and enrolled himself at Valladolid* a member of the Society of Jesus; that using his opportunities for studying the genius of Popery and the ways of Papists, he became convinced that the Romish faith was a system of worldly craft and tended not to true religion, and for the rest of his life he became a bitter opponent of it both as a preacher and a writer.

Except in the matter of his antipathy to the Catholic system, Lewis Owen had no intellectual sympathy with the thoughtful and liberally-minded author of the *Europæ Speculum*. How little this editor appreciated the largeness of theological view adopted by Sir Edwin Sandys, is apparent from the contemptuous way in which he offers in his Preface a perfectly gratuitous insult to the Arminians: "As for the Arminians, when this treatise was written, that sect was either in the shell or the cradle, and their mungrell and squint-eyed divinitie scarce known; yet they haply will be offended hereat, because savouring of the orthodox trueth, and let that sect so bee."

Sir Edwin Sandys, in his address to the Archbishop of Canterbury, describes his book as an attempt to cast up the sum of his travelled labour in viewing the state of religion in the western part of the world; to describe the peculiarities and differences of faith, worship and ecclesiastical government; the means and arts by which the several churches aim to promote their several interests; and, finally, to consider the best means of uniting the several branches of the Reformed Church, in case a truly catholic Church appeared matter of wish rather than expectation. The chief part of his work is devoted to the Church of Rome. He states at the outset his opinion that this Church has most manifoldly declined and degenerated from the truth and purity of the gospel. The priesthood during the dark ages he describes as men who made their greatness, wealth and honour, the rules whereby they squared the canons of faith, and then set clerks to work to devise arguments to uphold them. In describing the policy of the Romish Church, he chiefly speaks of it as developed in Italy,† where the Papal religion principally flourished; of

* Valladolid was one of several Catholic colleges established towards the close of the sixteenth century (Douay and St. Omers were others) by the zeal of Persons, the Jesuit, for training Catholic priests for England. In the bull of Clement VIII., 1592, confirming it, it is styled "collegium Anglicanum," and its object, "ad vertitatis viam gentiles, suos miserrimè occæcatos reducere." Dodd's Ch. Hist., Vol. II. 176 (Tierney's edition).

† An Italian translation of the *Europæ Speculum* was printed in 1625. It appears to have been a version of the early and unauthorized edition, but professes on the title-page to have valuable additions. A copy of this translation is in the Bodleian, which the writer has consulted, but without discovering anything in the additions worthy of record. It is a remarkable fact that such a

Catholicism in Spain (which he did not visit), Germany, the Low Countries, Lorraine and the Savoy, he takes comparatively slight notice. Assisted as he was by Father Paul of Venice, his remarks on the interior policy and arts of the Italian hierarchy and of the religious fraternities of that country, are picturesque, weighty, and for the most part applicable even at the present day. While he speaks with freedom of many of the idle ceremonies and obvious impostures of the Romish priests, he does justice to the impressiveness of some of their pulpit performances:

"The best part of their exercises of religion are their sermons, wherein much good matter both of faith and piety is eloquently delivered, by men surely of wonderful zeal and spirit, if their interior fervour be correspondent to their outward vehemence. Howbeit they are sometime mingled with so palpable vanity, that besides other poverties, as forced allegories and unnatural interpretations, wherein they are frequent, even those legends of saints and tales at which children with us would smile, are there solemnly historized in their cathedral pulpits. But certainly what religiousness so ever is in the people's minds, may wholly or chiefly be attributed to their sermons, whereto the better disposed people do very diligently resort; their service being no other than as a lamp put out, which bringing no light at all to the understanding, can neither bring any due warmth to the affections, the one being inseparable from the other: and were it not that their music, perfumes and rich sights, did hold the outward senses with their natural delight, surely it could not be but either abandoned for the fruitlessness, or only upon fear and constraint frequented."

Our author separates himself in a very remarkable manner from the Puritan prejudice against the adornments of art in ecclesiastical structures. The passage in which he expresses his opinion in favour of the Catholics' practice in this matter, in addition to its sterling merits, comes recommended to our admiration by the approbation of the great Chillingworth, who quoted it in the Preface to his "Religion of Protestants" (Works, fol. ed., 1742, p. 19).

"This one thing I cannot but highly commend in that sort and order; they spare nothing that either cost can perform in enriching or skill in adorning the Temples of God, or to set out his service with the greatest pomp and magnificence that can be devised, wherein notwithstanding it were to be wished that some discreeter men had been the contrivers and masters of their ceremonies, to have effected in them more stateliness, reverence and devotion, and to have avoided that friarly busy baseness and childishness which is now in them predominant. And although I am not ignorant that many men well reputed have embraced the thrifty opinion of that disciple who thought all to be wasted that was bestowed on Christ in that sort, and that it were much better employed upon him in the poor, yet with an eye perhaps that themselves would be his quarter

work should have been circulated in a country where the priesthood have their Index Expurgatorius, the design of which is, as Sir Edwin Sandys expresses it, "to pare and lop off whatever their watchful eyes can observe either free in disclosing their abuses and corruptions, or saucy in construing their drifts and practices, or dishonourable to the clergy or undutiful to the Papacy."

almoners: notwithstanding I must confess it could never sink into my heart that, in proportion of reason, the allowance for the furnishing out of the service of God should be measured by the scant and strict rule of mere necessity (a proportion so low, that nature, to other most bountiful, in matters of necessity hath not failed, no, not the most unnoble creatures in the world); and that for ourselves no measure of heaping, but the most we can get; no rule of expence, but to the utmost pomp we list; or that God himself had enriched this lower part of the world with such wonderful variety of things beautiful and glorious, that they might serve only to the pampering up of mortal man in his pride; and that the service of the high Creator, Lord and Giver (the outward glory of whose higher palace may appear by the very lamps which we see so far off burning so gloriously in it) only the simpler, baser, cheaper, less noble, less beautiful, less glorious things should be employed: especially seeing even as in princes' courts, so in the service of God also, this outward state and glory being well disposed, doth engender, quicken, increase and nourish the inward reverence and respectful devotion which is due unto so sovereign Majesty and Power, which those whom the use thereof cannot persuade so, would easily by the want of it be forced to confess. For which cause I must crave to be excused by them herein, if in zeal of the common Lord of all, I choose rather to commend the virtue of an enemy than to flatter the vice or imbecillity of a friend."

Sir Edwin Sandys describes the arts with which the Church of Rome seeks to adapt itself to every humour and to ravish all affections, in a fine rhetorical passage which will remind the reader of Milton's massive and noble prose:

"The particular ways they hold to ravish all affections and fit each humour are well nigh infinite, there being not any thing either sacred or profane, no virtue nor vice almost, no things of how contrary condition soever, which they make not in some sort to serve that turn, that each fancy may be satisfied and each appetite find what to feed on. Whatsoever either wealth can sway with the lovers, or voluntary poverty with the despisers of the world; what honour with the ambitious, what obedience with the humble; what great employment with stirring and mettled spirits, what perpetual quiet with heavy and restive bodies; what content the pleasant nature can take in pastimes and jollity, what contrariwise the austere mind in discipline and rigour; what love either chastity can raise in the pure, or voluptuousness in the dissolute; what allurements are in knowledge to draw the contemplative, or in actions of State to possess the practic dispositions; what with the hopeful, prerogative of reward can work; what errors, doubts and dangers with the fearful; what change of vows with the rash, of estate with the inconstant; what pardons with the faulty, or supplies with the defective; what miracles with the credulous, what visions with the fantastical; what gorgeousness of shows with the vulgar and simple, what multitude of ceremonies with the superstitious and ignorant; what prayer with the devout, what with the charitable works of piety; what rules of higher perfection with elevated affections, what dispensing with breach of all rules with men of lawless condition; in sum, what thing soever can prevail with any man, either for himself to pursue or at leastwise to love, reverence or honour in another; * * * the same is found with

them, not as in other places of the world by casualty blended without order and of necessity, but sorted in great part into several professions, countenanced with reputation, honoured with prerogatives, facilitated with provisions and yearly maintenance, and either (as the better things) advanced with expectation of reward, or borne with, how bad soever, with sweet and silent permission. What pomp, what riot, to that of their cardinals? What severity of life comparable to their hermits and capuchins? Who wealthier than their prelates? Who poorer by vow and profession than their mendicants? * * * This day all in masks with all looseness and foolery; to-morrow all in processions, whipping themselves till the blood follow. On one door an excommunication throwing to Hell all transgressors; on the other a jubilee or full discharge from all transgressions. Who learneder in all kind of sciences than their Jesuits? What thing more ignorant than their ordinary mass-priests? What prince so able to prefer his servants and followers as the Pope and in so great multitude? Who able to take deeper and readier revenge on his enemies? What pride equal unto his, making kings kiss his pantafle? What humility greater than his, shrieving himself daily on his knees to an ordinary priest? Who difficulter in despatch of causes to the greatest? Who easier in giving audience to the meanest? Where greater rigour in the world in exacting the observation of the Church laws? Where less care or conscience of the commandments of God? To taste flesh on a Friday, where suspicion might fasten, were a matter for the Inquisition; whereas, on the other side, the Sunday is one of their greatest market-days! To conclude: never state, never government in the world, so strangely compacted of infinite contrarieties, all tending to entertain the several humours of all men, and to work what kind of effects soever they shall desire; where rigour and remissness, cruelty and lenity, are so combined, that with neglect of the Church to stir aught is a sin unpardonable; whereas with duty towards the Church, and by intercession for her allowance, with respective attendance of her pleasure, no law almost of God or Nature so sacred, which one way or other they find not means to dispense with, or at leastwise permit the breach of, by connivance and without disturbance."

Every age has seen, in every Church gifted with wealth and honours, how potent worldly interest is in deceiving its worshipers. Thus beautifully does our author describe the process:

"A sweet enchanter and deceiver of men, in the hope of honour and worldly profit, which lulling oft, even in the better sort, the conscience asleep, doth awaken withal and sharpen the wit, to find out arguments for the proving of that conclusion which affection beforehand hath framed; and by custom and continuance engendereth in them a persuasion that they have done well in that which at first their own knowledge could say was otherwise."

In reviewing the policy of the Papal power, Sir Edwin Sandys, while he brands with censure its dishonest arts and abhorrent cruelties, speaks with admiration of its attention to the education of the higher priesthood, and its skill in enlisting art and learning in its defence. He rebukes the Reformers for their want of wisdom in not counteracting the Papists with their own weapons where they could be honestly wielded. It is true enough that

the Puritans made it their aim "to be as unlike to the Papacy as was possible," and, abhorring their wickedness, disdained "to be imitators of their wisdom." After describing the policy of the Romish Church in instituting orders for the cultivation of learning and the arts of controversy, he laments the neglect of the same policy by the Reformers:

"Neither yet have they in any of all their dominions erected any college of mere contemplative persons to confront and oppose against the Jesuits, but have left this weighty burthen of clearing the controversies, of perfecting the sciences, of answering the adversaries' writings of exceeding huge travail, either upon their ordinary ministers, to be performed at times of leisure from their office of preaching (and they perform it accordingly), or upon such as in universities having some large scope, shall willingly and of their own accord undertake it for some time according to their abode."

Our author gives a judicious sketch of the means by which Protestantism at first grew, dwelling upon the assiduity and dexterity of the first Reformers in preaching, their careful religious education of the young, their fearless offers of disputation with their adversaries, their careful translations of the Scriptures, and the boldness with which they exposed to public view the moral and other blots of the Papal system. He honestly censures the partiality and dishonest suppressions of ecclesiastical historians, both Catholic and Protestant. Both, he says, though not equally, "have wronged the truth, abused this present age, and prejudiced posterity." The remedy which he prescribes is the reading indifferently on both sides, regarding the several writers as mere advocates, and playing "the judge between them."

In no part of this remarkable volume, so far in theological moderation and a spirit of impartial justice in advance of the age in which it was composed, is the author's amiability and love of truth more apparent than in his treatment of the Jews. He describes their religion as founded on the Old Testament and "a certain moral philosophy and reason." In biblical criticism he admits their extraordinary skill, and accounts for it by their setting their children at three years of age to the study of Hebrew, "and following no other study save of the Bible, and writing upon it all their life long." "Touching God and his nature, their opinions are for the most very honourable, and holy save that they deny the Trinity; touching angels weak, and foiled with much poetry; touching the nature and condition of man, very exquisite, and for the most part drawing near unto truth." He speaks of the Jewish dislike to the doctrine of eternal torments, which they think "a bad opinion," and their entire acceptance of the doctrine of universal restoration, including even the salvation of the devils themselves, "who, after a long course of bitter repentance and punishment, shall find mercy at his hands that did create them, that the world may entirely be restored to

that purity wherein God at first did make it, and to that perfection and happiness whereto each part of it in his several degree was destined by Him, from whom nothing but goodness and blissfulness could proceed."

After attempting an estimate of the relative forces of the Papacy and Protestantism, Sir Edwin Sandys treats an enforced unity of faith in Europe as utterly impossible, and in an enlarged and candid spirit proceeds to consider "what other kind of unity poor Christendom may hope for, whether unity of verity, or unity of charity, or unity of persuasion, or unity of authority, or unity of necessity." There is a noble passage, which Mr. Hunter has quoted in the Appendix to his admirable work on the "Founders of New Plymouth," and in parts of which he perceives a correspondency with the celebrated farewell address of Pastor Robinson. It is too long for us to extract entire. He first describes those noble Catholic spirits who, putting aside the spirit of contention, long to see peace re-established in the Church by the travail and mediation of calmer and truth-loving minds. The union of the whole Church in the recognition of pure truth he did not dare to expect. He thus pleaded with Protestants to do their part in bringing about a unity of charity:

"On the other side let the Protestants—such at least as think to purge out that negative and contradictory humour of thinking they are then rightest when they are unlikest the Papacy, then nearest to God when farthest from Rome,—let them look with the eye of charity upon them as well as of severity, and they shall find in them some excellent orders for government, some singular helps for an increase of godliness and devotion, for the conquering of sin, for the perfecting of virtue. *And contrariwise in themselves, looking with a more single and less indulgent eye than they do, they shall find that there is no such absolute or unreprovable perfection in their doctrine and reformation as some dreamers in the pleasing view of their own actions do fancy.* Neither ought they to think it strange they should be amiss in anything, but rather a very miracle if they were not so in many. For if those ancient sages and fathers of the Church, with greater helps, being nearer the times of purity, with equal industry, so spending their whole lives with less cause of unsincerity, having nothing to seduce them, notwithstanding were not able, in the weakness and blindness of human nature in this world, to soar up so high always in the search of truth as to find out her right seat in the height of the heavens, but sometimes took error dwelling nearer them instead thereof; how less likely that our age, more entangled with the world, farther removed from the usage of those faultless institutions, and so bitterly exasperated with mutual controversies and conflicts, should attain to that excellency and perfection of knowledge which, it may be, God hath removed from man's reach in this world, to humble him and increase his longing desire towards another world? *And as the present time doth discover sundry errors in the former, so no doubt will the future in that which is now present. So that ignorance and error, which seldom go severed, being no other than inseparable companions of man so long as he continueth in this terrestrial pilgrimage, it can be no blemish in them to revise their doctrine*

and to abate the rigour of certain speculative opinions, especially touching the eternal decrees of God, the quality of man's nature, the use of his works, wherein some of their chief authors have run to such an utter opposition to the Romish doctrine, as to have exceedingly scandalized all other churches withal, yea, and many of their own to rest very ill satisfied. The seat of truth is aloft, of virtue in the midst, both places of honour, but neither truth nor virtue draw to an utter extremity."

The words which we have italicised shew how remote Sir Edwin Sandys was from the harsh Calvinism of his day, and how ill judged was the assertion of his editor of his antipathy to the milder Arminian doctrine. For the sake of peace and Christian union he was willing to make some concessions even to the Catholic party. But the theological stubbornness and fond persuasion of infallibility which belong to all alike, destroyed his hope of a general unity, and he closed his remarks on the subject with this eloquent aspiration, which breathes a beautiful spirit of piety:

"And so must I leave and recommend it to God as being both our best and now only remaining policy, to address our united and general supplications to his divine power and majesty, that it may please Him by that ever-springing fountain of his goodness and gracious mercy, even beyond all human hope, if it may so stand with his blessed will; and by such means as to his divine wisdom are ever in readiness to effect those things which to man's wit may seem impossible, to extend his compassionate and helping hand over his miserable, defiled, disgraced Church, persecuting abroad and persecuting itself at home, confined by tyrants into a corner of the world, and therein raging and renting itself in fetters; to purge out of men's minds that ambition and vanity which so bewitcheth them with the love of the pomps and glories of this perishing and ending world, which in the breathing of a breath they will loathe and despise as nothing; and to engraft in them a pure and single eye to behold that eternal truth, which seen breeds love, and loved conduces to happiness; to root out all gall and acerbity on both sides and to bend their hearts to charity, that being re-united in the pilgrimage of this life, this country of our terrestrial bodies, we may, after our service and course therein accomplished, ascend, under the conduct of our Saviour before ascended, to our everlasting rest in the country of our celestial souls, there, in society and unity of saints and angels, to enjoy the happy vision of the all-glorious Deity and to sing his praise for ever."

The extracts given from the *Europæ Speculum* will have vindicated our praise of its author as an independent thinker, a man greatly in advance of his age, and imbued with a true Christian and catholic spirit. He closes his work with a fine passage declaratory of his pure love of truth. While asserting his uprightness of mind, he admits his liability to error and the impossibility of hitting truth in all things, and inviting the criticism of those better informed than himself, he professes his willingness to make honourable amends to truth whenever proved to be necessary, for truth was the fruit of his desire, and the errors into which he had fallen were merely the weeds of his ignorance.

A MINISTER'S RETROSPECT.

Chapter VIII.

THE RELATION OF MINISTER AND PEOPLE IN UNITARIAN CHURCHES.

My last chapter described the three principal varieties of chapel trust and modes of congregational administration that prevail among us, one specimen of each having fallen within my personal experience.

In each instance I am constrained to say there was room for a much more systematic, prompt and business-like transaction of chapel affairs. And, by what I have heard, other men's experience seems to have repeated my own in this respect. There are, doubtless, many exceptions; but I fear the rule is (unless it has been greatly altered since my time), that a degree of laxness and indifference commonly characterizes our chapel transactions, such as seldom belongs to the administration of purely secular societies. I speak now of the secular affairs of our chapels; such as the preservation, repairs, improvement, letting, &c. of their endowments (where there are such); the care of the chapel and school buildings themselves; the collection of pewage or other form of subscription for the support of worship; attention to strangers and occasional worshipers; the government of the choir; the payment of the minister's and other salaries, &c. How often have I heard of trust-deeds being lost, or not filled up; of chapel estates going to rack and ruin; of rents lost through carelessness; of no accounts rendered for years! How many chapels have even been allowed to moulder into ruin for want of timely repairs, till at last an appeal must be made to the charity of the public to renew what should not have been allowed to decay, for another half century at any rate! In how many places might a new comer any Sunday find himself at a loss for a seat; and if he wished to occupy one regularly, not know to whom to apply! How lax, in many cases, has been the mode of collecting pew-rents and subscriptions, and (by natural consequence, of course) the payment of the minister's salary; to whom punctuality in this matter must usually be of some importance, and half-yearly payments more welcome than yearly, and quarterly than half-yearly! And what a chapter of hap-hazard usually is the choir in one of our chapels! sometimes consisting of volunteers and amateurs, sometimes of paid professional singers and organist; more often, perhaps, with a mixture of the two elements. But in how few cases is the choir, whether consisting of volunteers or of professionals, really *administered*, really arranged, balanced, practised and well-conducted! Unless where some leading member of the congregation happens to be a musical man, and has time and inclination to devote himself to the organization and practice of the chapel choir, his personal influence serving

to blend and harmonize the somewhat difficult elements, we hear continually of choir troubles and quarrels of one kind or other. Probably all these deficiencies may prevail, in a degree at any rate, in other Dissenting congregations besides ours—and some of them in the Establishment too; but I believe they are peculiarly frequent and prominent in ours, by reason of our more generally lax congregational management. The spiritual church government of other denominations is the foundation of a tolerably strict and business-like secular management; while we are in danger of losing the latter through our repudiating the former. Except where we have a popular management to the extent at least of an annual meeting to pass the accounts and elect a chapel-warden or treasurer (if not also a committee of management for the year), this effect is almost sure to ensue. It seems nobody's business to interfere with anything or with anybody else. Things seem almost left to manage themselves. The clock may stop for a month, and nobody get it mended. A slate may be off the roof, and no one seem to notice how the rain comes in. Glazier or joiner may be wanted and not sent for, week after week, and month after month. Every chapel official is independent of everybody else. The minister has no one's will but his own to consult,—is perfectly independent in his modes of action (and perhaps as intirely unhelped and uncared for), and may do exactly what is right in his own eyes, so long as he commits no such flagrant escapade as to involve the question of his removal from his office. The clerk, the choir-leader (perhaps the leading soprano too), the organist, the chapel-cleaner, the very sexton, seem to be so many co-ordinate and independent authorities, each filling an office for life and owning no master; each a law to themselves, and perhaps resenting the very occasional suggestions from the remote fountain-head of authority which must from time to time be made even by the most forbearing and gentlemanly of Presbyterian trustees.

The strong individualism of character which marks our members even in those churches which have the most popular system of management, may be one reason perhaps why the trustees, if not the members also, of those which are differently constituted, are content to be as they are. But a truly social and generous feeling acts in the other direction. The minister, too, might be tempted to exult in the thorough independence of position given to him by this absence of system, if he did not sadly feel that it is also a position of cold isolation, where the least possible co-operation or sympathy is secured to him, but he is simply *at liberty* to create a spirit of general zeal and union among his monad fellow-worshipers, *if he can*, while they are perfectly at liberty to hold aloof *if they choose*. And many of them *do* hold aloof from any such special efforts of his to compensate by shows of church union and equality the want of its substance in the

daily administration of their affairs. Yet these same persons would take part, as matter of course, as matter of duty, or as matter simply of right, in the popular administration of their chapel secularities; and would be possessed, thereby and from that moment, with a more considerate spirit in other matters which it may properly devolve upon the minister to suggest and guide.

Still, this strong individualism and independence of character, which naturally belongs to Englishmen, and which Unitarians are simply *not taught to forego* in matters of religious thought and feeling, will bound the power and limit the activity of the Unitarian minister somewhat more narrowly than in most other denominations. It will quite prevent his becoming a priest, even if he has a dash of the priest in him. It may be one of his peculiar trials to notice the seeming ingenuity and wilfulness with which one person and another stands out against his most generous and disinterested purposes, and insists upon riding his own hobby by himself. So different are men's characters, tastes, tempers. One does not like tea-meetings. Another does not approve of tract-distributing. One or two doubt about Sunday-schools. One is anxious to have a Liturgy introduced, another wishes for extempore prayer, while the minister follows the approved plan of the denomination in general, that of carefully written prayer, by which he attempts at least to combine the stability and gravity of the former with the freedom and warmth of the latter. Unitarian congregations are usually composed of more various and apparently incongruous social elements than any others, inasmuch as they generally include more varieties of rank and condition, both outward and mental, than those of any other sect. This fact (for it is a fact, and one of great importance for the minister distinctively to recognize) is due chiefly to the smallness of the sect. The larger denominations have usually two, three or more chapels in any good-sized town; and their members respectively attach themselves to that minister whose preaching and ministrations are most level to their several capacities and tastes. If they do not like one, they try another. But the Unitarians of the same town have no such choice. In all but our largest towns, one chapel and its one minister is the alternative which they have to set against a mode of worship elsewhere which their convictions of religious truth repudiate. The minister of that one place may be too learned for one person's taste, too commonplace for another's; no doubt (if the critical be the chief faculty directed upon him and his ministry) he is full of imperfections; and even his merits, as appreciated by one order of his hearers, are defects in the eyes, or ears, of another. No man living has so impossible a task given him as that of conducting worship and addressing religious instruction and exhortation, with equal acceptableness to all the ranks and degrees of

men, minds, hearts, characters, which form a Unitarian congregation. What a necessity is there then for mutual forbearance and considerateness! How gentle, loving and trusting should their spirit of union be, where no tight bond is possible!

I wish I could say I had found the strong individualism which I have described invariably united with a spirit of conciliation. But, I confess, the want of the latter has been my great difficulty. It has been so difficult to possess men with the feeling of *obligation* to the religious body to which they professedly belong. There is nowhere so little *esprit de corps* as among us. Some men are ever ready to take offence, either at something the minister has said or done, or is said to have said or done; or at something that Mr. Somebody in the next pew has said or done, or is believed to have said or done; and the usual way of intimating that something is amiss is, to stay away from public worship till one is missed and inquired about, and one's offended dignity recognized, if not appeased. Possibly the minister himself inquires, or without inquiry learns, what it is that this very ambiguous sign is meant to signify. Perhaps, however, he is not in the habit of inquiring after absentees unless he has reason to believe that illness or trouble is in the way, and it is certainly wisdom on the minister's part to make this kind of rule for himself. But sometimes, when a very regular attendant becomes all at once a regular absentee, he is almost compelled to take some notice of the fact. I had a case of this kind, where a good man whom, for a great many years, nothing but physical impossibility had ever hindered from being in his place on Sunday, suddenly vanished from the chapel services. I inquired of an acquaintance of his whom I met, whether F. was ill, for I would call on him if he was. "No," was the reply; "but I think you had better call, for he has something on his mind that displeases him." "Have I given him offence, do you mean?" I asked; "I can't imagine how." "No, it is not you; but you had better hear it from himself." I called accordingly; and after a little dry pumping (to which he all the while very determinedly led), I found that the good man's "feelings were hurt" beyond healing because, in a recent arbitration on a little business-matter, which he had agreed to refer to a very honourable and clear-headed man in the congregation, the latter had decided against my friend F. This was more than his feelings could bear, especially as the arbitrator's pew was very near his. I suggested that he could change his pew; but his feelings would not allow him to do that. Only his feelings did not prompt him to come to chapel as he used to do. He was a good, honest, industrious man, who had scraped a little money together by hard work and too rigid frugality; and his being a Scotchman might in part explain the strength of his *feelings* about the arbitration, in which he thought himself wronged to the amount of one pound five and sixpence three

farthings, through the erring but friendly judgment of the arbitrator.—I remember another good man who stayed away two months because Mr. Haughty's servant had passed him without touching his hat to him (and he was sure Mr. Haughty must have put the fellow up to it). Farmer Oates stayed away all the winter because farmer Dairy's cow had trespassed in his corn-field. And Mrs. Crotchet would not come again because a servant who had left her had gone into Mrs. Kindly's service. I was myself the innocent cause of one person leaving the place through not knowing (which he had not thought it necessary to tell me) that his young child was ill, and so neglecting to call,—which was thought either proud or negligent on my part; and of another, by calling when he was ill,—which he thought too like priest-craft! What is a man to do with people so ill-conditioned as these? I have many a time had occasion to ask. Do? The less the better, in the way of direct conflict, or humouring or coaxing. Do his duty, and think as little as he can about such uncomfortable hindrances. Do, just as he always has done, to them as well as everybody else. They will come round in their own time and way more likely than in any time or way of his. I soon made it a rule to *ignore* all such conceits and offence-takings;—not to believe in them, not to act upon them, not to listen to the talk about them; and, above all, never to make a call of inquiry or explanation. I found better employment in other directions, where there were real griefs to soothe or real joys to congratulate, with thoughts of duty and love to welcome and help onward. On the whole, however, I have had no great occasion to complain of interference or disrespectful treatment of any kind; but rather, while enjoying a large liberty of action (bespeaking the generous confidence of my congregational friends), I have wished that liberty somewhat less cold and isolated. I have had too free space and too little companionship and aid.

And this is the case, I believe, with a good many of our ministers. In some of our places, everything that is done at all has to be done by the minister. All the connected institutions devolve upon his management. In the Sunday-school he is superintendent, treasurer, secretary and general manager. Of the congregational Library, if he is not librarian, he is under the necessity of taking upon himself to be the committee. If there is a Fellowship Fund, he is most likely treasurer, if not collector also. The Unitarian Association have appointed him their local treasurer, to collect the few pounds subscribed by his congregation. The Manchester College also have conferred on him the same honour and trouble. Perhaps also the Sunday-School Association, and two or three district societies besides. He is thus overwhelmed with little offices which no one else will take the trouble of. And perhaps the next thing is, that he is thought officious and pragmatical for taking so much upon himself. I do

not doubt the ability of my clerical brethren to manage these secular matters. But it is my decided opinion that no minister ought to be expected to do any of the things above mentioned. Every one of them should be intrusted to one or other of the members of the congregation, who should make it his particular study to advance the prosperity of that particular institution which he has undertaken. It would be as good for them to do as for him to be spared these services. It is particularly desirable that the minister should not have to collect subscriptions for any purpose whatever, though at present it is almost impossible in many cases for him to decline doing so. One rule should, however, be absolute with him, namely, to have no part in the financial management of the chapel itself. He must not have any part in those affairs in which his own pecuniary interests are concerned. He must not receive rents or pewages (which, in the default of good arrangement, are often tendered through his hands). He *may* touch any money that is not for himself, though he ought to be exempt even from such calls upon his time and attention. But of the pecuniary affairs of the chapel he ought to know nothing whatever, except that the congregation, through its committee, trustees or warden, have agreed to pay him a certain salary, and that, as regularly as the quarter begins, it *is* paid to him. If he knows all this, it is well. The congregation and their managers should make this to be the notorious fact. I fear it has been and is often very much otherwise, and that congregational laxity and a minister's necessities combine to render pecuniary allusions more frequent on his part, than the true style of pecuniary transaction above described would allow them to be.

I would not have the minister personally occupied, except in a distant and general manner, even with the Sunday-school, in which I have observed that congregations are very apt to expect great things at his hands,—an expectation to which some few ministers of special talent and energy in this direction have given currency. In my opinion, a minister is doing a very questionable duty, if by attending to the Sunday-school he exhausts his mental or physical energy, or destroys his quiet self-possession, all which are due first of all to his public Sunday services. I think he does no true duty if he enfeebles these and lowers their tone through the attention which he bestows on the Sunday-school. Other persons can teach the Sunday scholars; but it is his place alone to conduct the worship of his fellow-christians. If he shews a general kindly interest in the school (without teaching a class of his own), and is ready to take such official part in its general superintendence and representation as the teachers may desire him to do, this seems to me all that can be fairly expected at his hands. Or, if he has energy to spare on Sundays, as I hope he has (I always had), for something a little quieter and of a some-

what higher order than Sunday-school teaching, and more decidedly belonging to his position as minister of the congregation, let him have a class, or classes, of young people belonging to the congregation (which not one child in ten in the Sunday-school usually does); and let him communicate to these young people such elements of religious, moral and devotional instruction as may prepare them to become intelligent and devout Christians. I always had classes of young people, and I believe they were the best thing I did in my ministry. The New Testament is a sufficient book for the purpose, if one is placed with a congregation where the expense of books is an object to be considered. One may read the Gospel of Mark first, as the simplest, easiest and shortest, and then that of John as supplementary; then the Acts; explaining as the class reads, and questioning the next time on what has been read, and communicating as you go on all kinds of connected information, and thus lay a basis of scriptural inquiry which will ensure the intelligent reading of the Scriptures ever after, and defy the inroads alike of fashionable conformity and of denunciatory orthodoxy. The minister's only difficulty here is, with those who *do not come* to his classes. He cannot compel, and his persuasion is often exerted in vain. But let him persevere. No seed finds more good ground than what is thus sown. I never was fond of Catechisms. I never used them in my own classes; but made my own questions from the chapter that had been read, and received from the children genuine answers of their own,—good, bad or indifferent. The only sound plea I have heard for Catechisms so called (that is, books in the form of question and answer, the former to be read by the teacher and the latter to be said by heart by the pupil) was in consideration of the incompetence of the teacher. Not desiring to avail myself of this plea, I declined the use of Catechisms, and generally obtained intelligent answers instead of ready-made ones. But we sadly want some simple elementary religious books,—*not* in catechism style,—for our Sunday classes; for Sunday-school use as well as for the use of the minister's classes. I wonder whether the Manchester Society that took this matter up some time ago will supply *my* want.

The noble independence of position held by our ministers and assigned to them by their congregations, is seen in the part they generally take in social, philanthropic and political affairs. They are among the very best of citizens, the most intelligent, the largest-minded and largest-hearted; and they are often the ablest men of business. Education has always found in them and their congregations its warmest supporters. With me it was a tradition and an inheritance to do all I could in its promotion. Our Sunday-school was the first instituted in the town of A; some of us having gone over as a deputation to Gloucester to see Mr. Raikes's schools and report his plans. On a small scale I did

what Priestley did at Leeds and Birmingham in the foundation of a public Library; and I was, of course, among the original founders of the Mechanics' Institution at B, where I lived when Birkbeck founded the London one. I believe a Presbyterian or Unitarian minister is truly working in his vocation when he devotes time and trouble to these things. And his co-operation is usually accepted here in the same comprehensive spirit in which it is offered, without the exhibition of small religious or class jealousy of any kind. In the administration of the charitable institutions of his town, the case is apt to be otherwise; but at least he should always be ready to take his part in the management of Hospital, Dispensary, Savings' Bank, or any other benevolent or useful institution. In political affairs every true man among us has always felt himself a free agent, and responsible, like every other true man, to God and conscience alone for the right use of his freedom. In my younger days this freedom of spirit was somewhat perilous; and many a time, under the shadow of Castlereagh and Sidmouth, the political day darkened around some of my contemporaries whom I might mention as having narrowly escaped political persecution for something manly said or written by them. Such men have been socially and politically, no less than morally, theologically and religiously, the salt of the earth. None have, indeed, in proportion to their numbers, contributed so much as our Presbyterian ministers and laity to the true service of God and man. I am proud of the memories which belong to the denomination. They have ever been the most genuine of men, finding the instructions of religion in nature and providence as well as the gospel, and its applications in life and duty everywhere. They have ever been *whole* men, with heads and hearts consenting, not afraid of science nor doubting human nature; not wrapping up their creed in mystery or straining after artificial sentiment. Their orthodoxy has ever been that of a good life. Their religion has not been formal, nor ascetic, nor sentimental, nor impracticable. Their morality has been sound, their views of human life healthy and truly honourable to God. The world does not half know its obligations to them.

Not least of these obligations is the change they have necessitated in the theology and temper of other denominations. Younger men have now entered into the labours which men of my day have left or are leaving. Their task is easier in many respects, but may be more responsible and difficult in others. One of their greatest dangers, perhaps, is that of supposing their theological position to be no longer distinctive, as it was in the days when other churches were more bigotedly doctrinal. It is pleasing to a young man's enthusiasm, as it is to every one's charity, to think (if he could) that theological distinctions and their accompanying bitterness are at an end. But it is a vain delusion to

think so. The Church-of-England Articles still exist and are still signed just as ever,—to be frittered and philosophized away by the Maurices and Jowetts who do not really believe them, and to be battled for and battled with by smaller minds and sincerer souls who do. And this shading off and explaining away of orthodox doctrines, whether in the Church or among Independent Dissenters, partakes too much of intellectual sword-fencing, and too closely borders in many cases upon moral dissimulation, for any serious-hearted man to do otherwise than observe at least how dangerous the position of a semi-orthodox profession is, and to thank the better spirit of his Presbyterian and Unitarian connections which has given him a charter of theological honour. Against the temptations to moral insincerity suggested by this new era of theological free thought amid still accepted creeds and other symbols of orthodoxy, it is the new and all-imperative duty of those who have hitherto been the salt of the world to give battle continually. The new theological liberalism is fast damaging the moral sense of multitudes, by suppressing the once stern-principled command to *come out*. The Luthers of the present reform (as they would be called) say mass still and receive their stipends. The Lindseys—there are none. The Wakefields —are unheard of. The new liberalism permits them still to conform. And we have amongst us some admirers of the intellectual gymnastics of men thus falsely placed, if we must not plainly say false-hearted. Pray God there may not be among ourselves any who, through this false admiration, shall be led to vindicate to themselves the retention of their own position in our Christian churches after losing their belief in the specialty of a supernatural Christianity! If, after the manner of Pantheism, which, with its doctrine of all-god, leaves no real God anywhere, a philosophical spiritualism should see reason to proclaim *all-inspiration*, *all-marvel*, *all-divinity*, to the absolute denial of the supernatural in Christ and the Christian Revelation, may the sound morals of our inheritance at least forbid the imitation of the philosophical conformists who shelter themselves within the Church and the Universities! Theirs is, I believe, the very worst heresy of our times,—a heresy against the "simplicity and godly sincerity" with which a good man (whether Christian or not) should have his conversation in the world.

ACTION AND CONTEMPLATION.

In allusion to Coleridge, Arnold very truly said, that the power of contemplation becomes diseased and perverted when it is the main employment of life.

THE UNIVERSITY OF GRONINGEN AND ITS THEOLOGY.*

Groningen, formerly a Hanseatic town, now the capital of a rich agricultural province, has large streets, squares, canals, and an ancient church which reminds one, at some distance, of the tower of the cathedral at Antwerp. The Hotel de Ville, a considerable edifice, built during the French domination, is greatly admired. Some of the houses of Groningen are distinguished by a rudeness of architecture which has at least the merit of attracting attention. The walls are covered with a rough coating, with bits of glass incrusted in the cement. When the sun falls upon their face, these houses are lit up with a dazzling brightness. The people on the north side feel the need of increasing this brightness by artificial means, being desirous of light. The inhabitants of the south take special care not to augment by this fatiguing reflection the intensity of the solar rays, and they construct their habitations in straight streets, which give shade to one another, like the trees of a forest.

The building for the University of Groningen, which the neighbouring towns call a second Athens, not altogether without reason, is new and imposing. The different courses of lectures are delivered in rooms which exhibit their destination written upon the door of entrance,—the mathematical lecture-room, the room for jurisprudence, chemistry, &c. The cabinet of anatomy and of natural history is rich in curious specimens. In particular, certain preparations of the organs of hearing may be remarked, made with all the skill of an accomplished and delicate hand. On market days the peasants of Groningen come in considerable number to this museum. The interest which they take in the habits of animals and the different forms of life, betokens a race eager for instruction. This taste for information is a consequence of material prosperity, which has diffused education more or less throughout all classes. Among these collections there is one which seems to be unique,—a variety of drawings of fish executed in China upon English paper, with gold and silver mixed with very lively colours. This iconographic series was obtained from the Chinese government by a Dutch consul,

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* In the "Revue des Deux Mondes" for 1855, there appeared some pleasing, well-written articles, by M. Alphonse Esquiros, on "Life in Holland," giving a picture of the physical aspect of the country, the social condition of the people, their religion and literature, with an interesting account of the Universities of Leyden, Utrecht and Groningen. Being particularly struck with the description of the University of Groningen and of its professors and the theology, we have derived from it the sketch which we now present to our readers. We conceive that in an English dress, from its information and spirit, it will be peculiarly acceptable to the friends of the Christian Reformer. With the exception of some slight omissions, we have preserved a faithful regard to the original, not without the feeling that our critical judgment and inferences would probably differ on some slight points from the author's. E. T.

who made a present of it to the University. All the riches of the establishment are placed under the surveillance of a custos or keeper. This custos is quite an original: a general assistant, preparing and arranging, a little of an artist, a man of action yet a student, he attaches himself with good faith and all the ardour of youth to the interests of science. Near these lecture-rooms is a library, situated in an old building, the books of which are lent to pupils. The University possesses further a botanic garden. But the practical spirit of the inhabitants of Groningen leads them to cultivate science not for its own sake merely: to this botanic garden is annexed a garden for economic and agricultural purposes, in which the useful applications are attended to. The clinical courses are delivered at the hospital of the town, and in Latin, so as not to alarm the sick.

The programme of studies (ordo lectionum) affixed to the door of the University of Groningen is nearly the same as at Leyden and Utrecht, only the direction differs. As Groningen is placed not many leagues from Hanover, German science and literature have naturally had there some influence upon the mind of the Hollanders. Some of the professors are distinguished men. The academy lost a few years ago a writer of merit, Luisburg-Brouwer, author of a little romance, entitled "The Reading Society of Diepenbeck," in which he turned into ridicule the extravagant partizans of orthodoxy. But that which chiefly characterizes this University is the colour of its religious manifestation. The theologians of Groningen form in the intellectual movement of the Low Countries a school apart. This school arose some years ago, that is about 1833, in the very bosom of a town par excellence orthodox. A professor of Utrecht, Van Heusde, author of "The Socratic School," and a Latin work, "Initia Philosophiæ Platonicæ," endeavoured to introduce some new views of religious belief. His ideas were in harmony with those of M. Hofstade de Groot, a pupil of the University of Groningen, a mind young and independent, like his own, which sought reform. From the alliance of these two, from the diffusion of their doctrines, arose the nucleus of a theological society whose seat is now established at Groningen. De Groot, Pareau and Muurling, men deeply versed in history and the monuments of Christianity, divided among them the different branches of sacred interpretation. Their ideas are perhaps neither very clear nor well defined in their works. An obscure thought, which yet conceals a form more or less Germanic, scarcely adapts itself to the requirements of the French intellect. We wish, however, to disengage from the perplexity the essential elements of a doctrine which exercises an unquestionable influence. The theologians of Groningen say they do not undermine the edifice of the Reformed Church, but they declare themselves against synodal Protestantism. They start with the formal denial of all human

authority in matters of religion. They accept the Synod of Dort as an historical fact; but this fact, in their view, could not bind the faith of new generations. The theologians of Groningen accuse their adversaries, who cling to an official church and to a written tradition, of desiring Popery without a Pope. For themselves, they recognize no more a Pope on paper than a Pope in the flesh. Ascending to the springs of religious reform, they declare themselves for the principle of free inquiry. The source of all light lies for them in the study of the gospel, interpreted with all good faith, but with all the independence of the individual reason. Revelation, if we listen to them, is only the education of the human race. This education of the human race under Jesus Christ is a fact which is continuous. The epoch of reform has been one of the glorious phases of this historical initiation; but we must carry on the work which the reformers commenced. The school of Groningen sets the example of this continual revision of Christian dogma. It rejects the mystery of the Trinity, of which it finds no trace in the holy Scriptures; it denies predestination, that fundamental idea of Calvin, which renders the Deity unjust, since he enchains human liberty; even the mystery of redemption is taken away, at least as it is understood in ordinary theology, which it calls "a theology of blood." In order to give to this bold doctrine a local interest and colour, the theologians of Groningen have exhumed from the religious archives of the province an apostle of Reform, a certain Wessel Grausfort, whose opinions and principles were similar to their own. The aim of these new reformers is in fact to form a type of Christianity peculiar to the Netherlands. Their theology reposes, like that of the orthodox, upon the history of Batavian Protestantism, but they arrive at conclusions altogether different. People ask only if a doctrine which separates them from the rest of the Protestant world upon points so essential, is still a theology, and not rather a philosophy under the mask of Christian forms. We have spoken of the darkness in which this school wraps itself. Such an obscurity belongs not alone to the nature of the subject, nor to the influence of the German genius; it is rather the consequence, we fear, of a confusion of ideas. The theologians of Groningen wish to unite two extremes almost irreconcilable, rationalism and supernaturalism. Hence results a movement productive of disorders, against which they fight in the midst of shadows,

The voice of this philosophic or heterodox school has its echoes in the pulpits of the national Protestant Church. The moral force of this doctrine of liberty reposes upon the middle class, and not upon the lower classes, among whom the narrow but firm and precise formulas of orthodoxy count on numerous adherents. Young and ardent preachers throughout all the Low Countries wave the flag of the new Protestantism, which they

set forth as conformable to the national history of religious ideas. If we listen to them, it is not they who turn out of the straight path; it was the Synod of Dort which swerved from the spirit of reform. Science has also made its progress since this celebrated assembly in the fastnesses of Holland, and we must advance with science.

At the head of the movement stand M. Meyboom, pastor at Amsterdam, and M. Yaalberg, pastor at the Hague. Their election encountered strong resistance on the part of the consistory. At last they were nominated; and on the day of their installation, M. Meyboom and M. Yaalberg pronounced, one in the church of Amsterdam, the other in the church of the Hague, at the same hour and upon the same theme, each a discourse which commenced with the words, "We come to announce to you Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ alone." These two brethren in arms had evidently adopted the same battle-cry, and they continue to march in the same road. Some time ago, the King of Holland found himself one Sunday in the city of Amsterdam. M. Meyboom was the preacher of the day; it was his turn. The King deliberated whether he should repair to the church and so consecrate in a manner by his presence a heterodox manifestation. He was not long in deciding for the affirmative. This homage, rendered less to the suspected doctrines of the preacher than to religious toleration, and to that sovereignty of opinion which had called M. Meyboom to the evangelic pulpit, was looked upon in Holland as an act of considerable moment. The ancient national church was crumbling, with its fundamental dogmas, before the principle of election and before the respect which the chief of the State himself came to testify for liberty of conscience. The divine word and the individual conscience—two immortal sisters, subject, it is true, to one sanction—thus came forth victorious from the struggle.

We thus see the inhabitants of the Netherlands, who are perfectly tranquil and sufficiently agreed on political questions, largely divided on the ground of religious opinions. The partizans of harmony seem to reckon on the invariable attachment of the national character to old customs and traditions as on a moral rein which must curb the fury of these discussions and avert the danger which they threaten to existing peace. It may be that this fidelity acts as an effectual counterpoise; but there is a danger from the possible introduction of philosophic novelties under the cover of old institutions. Thanks alike to this permanence of forms and movement of ideas, Calvinistic Holland may one day find its religion changed without itself having perceived the process. There is one point, grave and delicate, upon which the orthodox seek to array themselves against their adversaries; it is that of the divinity of Jesus Christ. The opinion of the heterodox veils itself purposely behind a cloud. Jesus

Christ is for them the most perfect type of humanity, the sent of the Most High, the image of God; but is he God in his own person? Generally they elude this embarrassing question by subtleties more or less scholastic. Some of them believe in the divinity, but not the deity, of the Son of Mary. We shall not ourselves engage in these discussions. A reply obscure, and probably designedly obscure, amounts almost to a negation. We are therefore authorized to see in the doctrine of the Netherland heterodox a sentimental deism, more or less attached to the poetry of Christian forms. They avail themselves of the gospel morals; they testify for certain men of the Reformation an historical respect; but between their ideas and those of Calvin for example, there is the distance of many ages. This equivocal and forward position is warmly attacked by the orthodox. "If you believe no longer what our fathers believed (they object to these new theologians), how can you call yourselves still of their church? Quit your gown, abandon the pulpit, go down again among the crowd of philosophers!" The dissidents in the ministry reply, that they have not slid surreptitiously into the Christian pulpit,—that their doctrines published in numerous works were known,—that it is for the faithful to judge for themselves of the formularies of religious belief which they approve; they impose none; they have been called; they are come. Though clothed now with ecclesiastical authority, their word is not above the reach of public censure. The faithful, if shocked by their too great freedom in the interpretation of dogma, may appeal from them to the consistory; the consistory may appeal to a synod, which has the right of interdicting the pulpit to a pastor who has strayed. This guarantee exists enough in principle; but in fact the synod will look twice before erecting itself into a tribunal of consciences; and provided the conduct of a minister is irreproachable, he is generally left free to announce on his personal responsibility whatever he believes the truth. And the life of the heterodox pastor is usually exemplary.

The same may be said of the manners of the University of Groningen. The students belong generally to an easy class, but their families are less rich than those of the students of Leyden. Obliged to make for themselves a position, they know well the value of time. The greater part form among them literary and learned societies, in which they aim at cultivating the society of the beautiful and the useful. This taste for the applied sciences is in other respects in the character of the Frisian race, to which the inhabitants of the province of Groningen attach themselves by traits distinguishable. The town itself takes this serious and honourable direction. At Groningen there is an establishment in which public courses of lectures are delivered. These courses are addressed to the citizens, and even to a part of the operative classes. Four times a year, they hold meetings at which women

attend. On these days, the room, however large, is always full. This society, founded for the propagation of exact science, has already existed fifty-five years. I have been surprised to find there a curious collection of insects, especially of native butterflies, made by the door-porter. The taste for natural history has here penetrated all ranks.

The theology of Groningen has made a school; we doubt not but it exercises in its turn an action upon the literary movement. We ask only if, between two religious influences, there be no room in the Netherlands for a national literature, which, illumined by the ray of popular good sense, by the remembrances of maritime glory, by the living history of contemporary manners, might free itself from every mystical direction? The Batavian race is endowed with great original power, by their own habit of study, by the inspiration of their gulfs, their lakes, their downs, their rivers, by idealizing the life of the people on the borders of the sea, or in the drained marshes; in such nature a source of poetry true and profound might be met with, which is sought in vain in religious controversies. There was a time when political interests required that the Netherlands should be isolated from the rest of Europe. A bulwark of the Protestant faith, this little republic then maintained its national existence by keeping itself aloof from other states. Such an isolation was once strength, but it is now a cause of moral weakness. Intrenched in family life, in immoveable usages, in certain dogmas religious and political, the Dutch persuade themselves too much that there is only Holland in the world. We believe they would gain much by getting rid of this error. Without abjuring its character, and rendering justice to the good intentions of the different sects who contend upon the soil of the Low Countries for the domain of conscience, it would then comprehend that the future of humanity is not contained in any of these small churches. On the whole, the religious movement tends to a sort of unity by division itself. Protestantism has neither in its dogmas, nor in its exterior organization, the means of resisting the enterprizes of individual reason. Pursuing the results of free examination, in vain does the Protestant seek to fix on matters of faith a shadow of authority. This authority escapes it the moment it is seized; the limits which it would fix for human thought become effaced like a line marked with chalk; and on all sides, in Holland, the light of a religious philosophy is spread abroad. This intellectual labour dissolves the ancient forms, overthrows the barriers which separate different Protestant communions, throws down the wall, as St. Paul expresses it, of divisions and enmities. The remonstrant and mennonite ministers, the orthodox and heterodox, are in constant interchange of pulpits. They preach for one another on the Sunday, and the people, who follow with interest these religious polemics, accustom themselves to a sort of practical eclecticism.

That which springs from this, which soars above these theological differences, is a sentiment always moral, a lesson of true tolerance, an aspiration sincere, though vague, after progress and human liberty.

SOME PARTICULARS OF THE MEETING OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE AT BERLIN.

IN A LETTER FROM AN UNITARIAN MINISTER TO THE EDITOR.

My dear Sir, *Berlin, Sept.* 12, 1857.

You will be surprised, I am sure, when you see that I address you from this hot and dusty city. You know that I am out of England. But if you should think of me at all just now, you will suppose that I am on the pleasant waters of the Danube, or wandering amongst the mountains of Tyrol. My plans, however, were changed at Vienna, and I resolved on accompanying my friend and fellow-traveller, who was compelled to return home this week, to Dresden. There I heard of the great gathering of the "Evangelical Alliance" at Berlin. And as, eight years ago, when I was in Germany, I was unable to go to Wittenberg, I resolved that I would now visit this "Protestant Mecca," make a pilgrimage to the graves of Luther and Melancthon, see the churches and abodes with which their memories are associated, and proceed to the Prussian metropolis. I have found no difficulty in gaining admission to the meetings of the Alliance, though of course, on making application for a ticket, I stated that I was not a member of the body, but simply an English traveller desiring to witness the proceedings. There are several ministers present with whom I have some acquaintance. But every one with whom I have been brought into intercourse has shewn a courteous disposition; and an accomplished Dutch clergyman, who speaks our language more perfectly than I have ever heard it from the lips of one not educated amongst us, has been peculiarly kind and very useful to me. I am exceedingly glad that I carried out my purpose of coming here. This assembly of divines and laymen has been one of deep, and sometimes even of painful, interest to my mind. There are persons attending it from almost every part of Christendom. To-day, I have listened to representatives of various denominations, speaking in their own tongues, from Italy, Spain, France, Turkey and Germany. And at other meetings, voices from England, America and Switzerland, have been heard. I cannot pretend to give you a detailed account of what has transpired; but even a few "jottings" will probably be acceptable to you from one on the spot. And if you wish to use them for the

wider circle of readers to whom you give so much valuable service, you are quite at liberty to do so.

Into the history and objects of the "Evangelical Alliance," I need not enter. You are familiar with them; and there are few who regard the operations of religious parties in our own country, who can need to be informed of the origin and objects of this body. The Berlin conference has been appointed with the sanction of the King, and has his entire approval. His sympathies, indeed, are well known to be with those who are prominently connected with it. But it has been coldly looked upon, or directly opposed, by the high-church Lutherans, who, though "orthodox" in doctrine, are intolerant and bitter in temper, and whilst *Protestant* in *name*, have very much of the Popish spirit. The leaders of the Alliance, it is true, are in no way remarkable for their largeness of mind or their catholicity of feeling. And it is rather amusing, to a looker-on, to observe that those who are so bigoted in their theological views, have now themselves to suffer from the violence and animosity of Lutheran exclusiveness. The men of more liberal sentiments in Germany, and those whose speculations are in the direction of what in England is emphatically designated, though often most unintelligently, the *German school* of thought, do not, of course, fraternize with the Alliance. As far as I can gather, the meeting is made up of the Calvinistic party in this country, and of those who are of the Exeter-Hall stamp in our own and other lands. There are not many names associated with this conference, from England, which are known beyond the sects to which they belong. Chevalier Bunsen has been to hear some of the addresses, but *only* as a hearer. His principles and aims, judging from his publications, must lead him far away from the narrow ground within which, after all its pretensions, the Evangelical Alliance desires to confine itself.

The hostility manifested by many men of standing and reputation here to the meeting of this Association in Berlin, has been very offensive to the King, and the monarch's favour has naturally produced some reaction in its behalf. He has caused it to be publicly declared, "that he has heard with anxiety and indignation of the restless endeavours of certain clergymen and others to deter people from joining the conference; that he attaches the most lively interest to its deliberations; that he hails and welcomes it as a manifestation of Christian fraternity as yet unexampled, and of the Providence that presides over the destinies of the Evangelical faith; that while far from desiring to impose on any one an attendance at its meetings, he would as little conceal from every one how much importance he attaches to them, and what auspicious results for the future prosperity of the church he expects from them." When a King speaks in this way to the clerical members of a State Church, he is sure

to meet with a response in many directions in accordance with his wishes. And we do not wonder, therefore, when we are told that "the number of clergy from Berlin and its neighbourhood who have identified themselves with the Alliance, far exceeds the expectations which had once been formed on this point."

The conference was opened on Wednesday evening last with devotional exercises in the German, French and English languages. The place of meeting is the Garrison Church, a large, plain building, not very ecclesiastical in its appearance, but having ample accommodation, and being an admirable building for hearing. I should imagine that it would hold three thousand persons. A spacious platform has been raised just before the altar, and the body of the church is devoted to the members of the conference. I do not know the exact numbers who have assembled, but I should think there must be at least six or seven hundred, and perhaps a thousand. Of course the greater part of them are Germans. They seem, generally speaking, plain and earnest men. And as I looked round upon the company, it reminded me very much of a Methodist Conference, such as I have seen once or twice in England.

On Thursday morning, an address of salutation was given, in a very brotherly and affectionate manner, by the Rev. Dr. Krummacher, a name well known to the readers of "evangelical" books at home. He is a man advanced in life, and occupying a position of considerable influence, not only as a popular writer, with a certain class of his countrymen, but as Court chaplain at Potsdam. His address was responded to, on the part of the English members, by Sir Culling Eardley; and I am told—for I did not reach Berlin in time to hear it—that it abounded in most fulsome praise of the King of Prussia. This bad habit of exaggerated laudation of the great, is, by the way, very common on Evangelical platforms. But one would have expected that a man of Sir Culling's station would have acted with better taste and judgment on such an occasion. In the afternoon, the recent conferences convened by the "Evangelical Alliance" were compared with the assemblies of the Church in former periods, by Prof. Dr. Jacobi, of Halle, and the Rev. Dr. Merle D'Aubigné, of Geneva.*

I purposely abstain now from any remarks on the papers read and the speeches delivered, because I have not time to give you

* A letter was this afternoon read from the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he stated his inability to attend the conference on the ground of official duties. A house had been offered him by the local committee during his stay at Berlin, if he had attended the meeting. There was some disappointment felt that he was not present, as he had received the friends of the Alliance at the archiepiscopal palace, and asked a Dissenting minister to offer up prayer in his presence. But his age and engagements were probably the real cause of his declining to go to Berlin.

my impressions of what I have heard, and because much yet remains to be done before the conference terminates. But, on another occasion, I may send you some further observations on the nature and character of this conference, on the various topics discussed in it, and on the reports respecting the state and prospects of religion in Protestant Christendom, many of which have been given.

On *Friday* morning, addresses were delivered on the Unity and Diversity of the Children of God, by Professor Dr. Moll, of Halle; the Rev. Mr. Krummacher, of Duisburg; and the Rev. Mr. Wunsche, Moravian pastor, of Berlin. The quiet manner in which the audience listens to what is said here, is in marked contrast with what occurs at public meetings amongst us. There is rarely any other indication of approval than the countenance affords. And only in one instance did I observe the slightest disapprobation exhibited, and that was by intimating to a clergyman who was reading a paper, that it was too long, and that it was wished he should proceed no further. At the close of an address, if it has been liked, a hearty "Amen" is uttered.

The King had intimated his wish to see the members of the Alliance during their stay at Berlin. And on *Friday* they were informed that he desired them to go to Potsdam in the afternoon, and that a train would be ready at three o'clock to take them. Not being a member of the Alliance, I could not enjoy the honour conferred upon its friends. But I am informed that nothing could be more gracious than the manner in which they were received. Refreshment was provided for them on their arrival. It was a beautiful day, and they were arranged on the terrace of the palace, according to their respective countries. The King went to each group, and was addressed by one of the party in the name of his brethren, and he himself said a few words in return. Sir Culling Eardley was the English speaker.* The Queen was present, and kindly welcomed the ladies who went with the gentlemen. To how many, on this occasion, must the reflection have occurred, what a different scene was then and there presented from that which a visitor would have beheld in the same place a century ago! At that time, Frederick, designated "the Great," reigned over the Prussian dominions. Voltaire and kindred companions were his chosen associates and friends. The days of Christianity were thought to be numbered; and a scoffing philosophy, so called, was to be enthroned, it was imagined, in its stead. But what has happened? The assaults

* The English, I understand, forgetful of palace proprieties, when Sir Culling Eardley was called for presentation to the King, left their proper places, and, following Sir Culling, gathered round the King. Sir Culling alluded to the approaching marriage of the Princess Royal, and the union of the Royal families of England and Prussia, with which the King was evidently much gratified. The Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, Sir E. N. Buxton and a few others, were introduced to the King.

of unbelievers have not affected the pure gospel; they have only served indeed to strengthen and establish a rational and enlightened faith. Infidelity itself has ceased to speak scornfully of the religion of Jesus. One corruption after another has been removed from the simple truths which are set forth in the evangelical history, and the period is evidently hastening when there will be a return, in all churches, to a belief and a worship more strictly in conformity with those of Christ and his apostles.

Yesterday was devoted to the subject of the "Universal Priesthood of Believers;" and addresses were given by Rev. Dr. Nitsch, of Berlin; Rev. Dr. Mallet, of Bremen; and Rev. L. Kœnig, of Wolkwitz. In the afternoon, the King came to the meeting, and continued for about an hour, whilst reports were read "on the State of Protestantism in Roman Catholic Countries." There was no demonstration of feeling made on his appearance, which doubtless was in accordance with previous arrangement, and he retired as unostentatiously as he entered. He seemed very attentive to what was going on, and a minister of state and two or three officers were with him. His countenance indicates goodnature and intelligence, but not mental power. I do not know his age, but I should think he cannot be far from sixty. Bunsen sat in the King's seat, and was there long before he came, and remained after he left and until the meeting ended. The conferences are always opened with a hymn and closed with prayer. Provision has been made for divine service, by English and American preachers, in several churches to-morrow, and I intend to hear Bishop Simpson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States.

During the next week, it is proposed, on *Monday*, to consider, "Why, notwithstanding the Return of German Theology to the Church Confessions, is there so little Spiritual Life in the Congregations?" On *Tuesday*, "What Attitude should be assumed by Evangelical Christians in relation to the aggressive Proceedings of the Church of Rome?" On *Wednesday*, "Religious Liberty;" and *Thursday*, "The probable Influence of the closer Union of German and British Christians, promoted by the Berlin Conference, in the Theology and Religious Life of the Two Countries." This last subject is to be introduced by the Rev. J. Cairns, of Berwick. And in the evening there will be the celebration of the Lord's Supper, when Bishop Gobat will preside. You will probably remember him as Bishop of the English Episcopal church at Jerusalem. There is plenty of work, you see, to be done. And whatever may be thought of the Alliance and the principles on which it is based, we must acknowledge that no persons labour more unweariedly in the present day than those who have been instrumental in its establishment, for the cause which they deem to be right.

Before I conclude, I will add one or two observations which

suggest themselves in relation to this conference. I have said that it has greatly interested me. It is impossible, for me at least, to be unmoved at the sight of hundreds of men, most of whom are pastors of churches, who have come together, many of them from distant parts of the world, to interchange thought and sentiment on some of the most momentous themes which can occupy human attention. The purpose, too, for which they professedly meet,—the promotion of Christian *brotherhood* and Christian *work*, irrespective of creed, or colour, or nation,—the cultivation of unity of *heart* amongst the followers of Jesus, amidst diversity of speculative *opinion*,—is sublime and glorious, and worthy of all praise. Oh! if the members of this conference were indeed to be trusted as friends of religious love and freedom,—if they were prepared consistently to carry out the great Protestant principle, and to devote their burning zeal to its futherance,—their meeting at Berlin would be a grander and nobler assembly than that of any council or synod of the past, and a bright and beautiful page would its records form in the history of the church of the future! But the sad conviction is forced upon us, that we cannot hope for any such course of action from them. They clamoured for a creed at the very formation of their Society, and by enforcing it lost the support of some of the best friends of Christian benevolence. They will allow no one to co-operate with them who does not believe in a Trinity of Persons in the Godhead, and in the doctrine of eternal punishment. In fact, its leading men belong to a party who are more opposed than any other to the principles of moderation and charity when applied in a broad and generous spirit, and there are none who display so offensive a dogmatism towards those who differ from them. A really Catholic church can never be founded by their exertions. The celebrated Neander, it has been said within the last few days, had his life been spared, would have approved and rejoiced in this conference at Berlin. And unquestionably it was his wish to see Christendom animated by a spirit of tolerance and love. But not long before his death he remarked to me, in an interview which I was privileged to enjoy with him in his own study, that the name of *Christian* belonged to every one who acknowledged the divine mission and authority of Jesus, and his resurrection from the dead. There is not, probably, a member of this conference who would accept this simple confession of faith as sufficient, though it was that by obedience to which Paul declared a man shall be saved.

The discrepancy between the *avowed* Protestantism of such persons and their *practice*, is a serious hindrance to the progress of pure religion in the world. Two years ago, when I was in Italy and visited the Waldensian churches in the valleys of Piedmont, I conversed with one of the ablest ministers belonging to these most interesting communities on this subject. He did not agree with me in matters pertaining to theology; but he assured

me that the rampant Calvinism and the illiberal conduct of the "Evangelical" party in England, who unfortunately very largely influence and direct the Vaudois pastors, are a constant impediment to the reception of better views of Christianity by intelligent Italians. They are dissatisfied with Romanism, and long for a faith which would approve itself to their understandings and their affections, but turn with disgust from the fanaticism and bigotry of teachers who, instead of the free and fresh words of the Saviour, make the acceptance of their own stereotyped articles and definitions necessary to religious fellowship here and to heaven hereafter.

I have been very much struck with the absence of young men, whether as members or spectators, from this conference. One likes to see persons of weight and experience guiding important movements. And the hoary head should indeed be reverenced when it is marked by its wisdom and piety. But the aged, and those who are advancing to the decline of life, require the vitality, vigour and hopefulness of more youthful persons to help and cheer them in their toils, to carry out their plans, and to give them the reasonable prospect that their labours will be continued and extended when they shall be called to their rest. I do not remember that I have ever seen a meeting comprising such numbers which contained so few men from five-and-twenty to thirty years of age. Is this occasioned by that indifference to religion which is said so fearfully to pervade *all* Protestant churches, but especially those in Germany, where the grass is growing close to the door of the temple in which Luther preached? Or does it proceed from a persuasion that the Berlin conference is not adapted to the wants of the times, is not in harmony with the better spirit which, we are persuaded, *is* advancing? And shall I confess to you, that during the past week I have often asked myself whether *we*, as a religious body, are occupying our proper place in the Christian world, and fulfilling the claims which God and his truth have upon us? How much ignorance, superstition, misery and suffering exist, which the light and power of pure Christianity would remove! It is required of stewards that they be found faithful. Were the Master to appear at the doors of our church, and call us to account for the manner in which we are employing our advantages, would he find us all devoted to duty, doing what we *can* to save men from error and sin, and to spread his gospel? But I must conclude, for I find that I have gone far into the night, and written much more than I intended.

Believe me, always faithfully yours,

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MR. WOOD ON MANCHESTER NEW COLLEGE AND THE BAN PUT ON MR. SMITH.

Sir, *Filey, Yorkshire, Sept.* 19, 1857.

In the debate which took place at the College meeting in June, it may be in the recollection of those of your readers who were present, that I was led to qualify what I had previously said with reference to Mr. Martineau, in consequence of a statement from Mr. Martineau, that the condition made by him of Mr. Vance Smith's exclusion from the College as essential to his own connection with it, known only by rumour a few days previously, had been distinctly stated in the preceding February. It seemed to me, therefore, that the responsibility rested with the Committee, and not with Mr. Martineau.

I now feel called upon to say, that in the view which I then took I overlooked the fact that the condition in question was made in a letter to Mr. Tayler, and had never come before the Committee at all. This mistake on my part perhaps arose from my having been accustomed, during my long connection with Manchester College, to a very different mode of transacting business. It now only remains for me to apologize for my error, and, having more accurately weighed the real facts, to state my belief that the course pursued by Mr. Martineau was as discreditable to him, as I must hold the recent ratification of it to be to the College Committee.

Wm. Rayner Wood.

REMONSTRANCE AGAINST A GLOOMY THEOLOGY.

The missionary Bridaine accused himself of sin in that he had preached fasting, penance and the chastisements of God to wretches steeped in poverty and dying of hunger; and is there not a similar cruelty and misuse of power in the servants of Him who came to bind up the broken-hearted, when they preach the necessity, or at least the theory of moral pain, to those whose hearts are aching from moral evil? Surely there is a great difference between the resignation or the endurance of a truthful, faithful, loving, hopeful spirit, and this dreadful theology of suffering as the necessary and appointed state of things! I, for one, will not accept it. Even while most miserable, I will believe in happiness; even while I do or suffer evil, I will belive in goodness; even while my eyes see not through tears, I will believe in the existence of what I do not see—that God is benign, that nature is fair, that the world is not made as a prison or a penance. While I stand lost in utter darkness, I will yet wait for the return of the unfailing dawn, even though my soul be amazed into such a blind perplexity that I know not on which side to look for it, and ask, "Where is the east? and whence the dayspring?" For the east holds its wonted place, and the light is withheld only till its appointed time. God so strengthen me that I may think of pain and sin only as accidental apparent discords in his great harmonious scheme of good! Then I am ready—I will take up the cross and bear it bravely, while I *must;* but I will lay it down when I can, and in any case I will never lay it on another.—*Mrs. Jameson's Commonplace-Book.*

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Annals of England; an Epitome of English History, from Cotemporary Writers, the Rolls of Parliament, and other Public Records. 3 vols. 12mo. Oxford—Parker.

The completion of this work by the publication of a third volume, which brings the history down to the accession of the Hanoverian family, gives us the opportunity of a slight notice of the plan of the work, and of the spirit in which its editor has executed it. It is, in fact, composed on the principle recommended by Mr. Froude *(Oxford Essays)*, of teaching English history out of the Statute-book. The Statutes he regards as bearing the same relation to the history of a country, that the skeleton does to the body. They contain, he argues, "the bone and marrow of the whole matter." We doubt whether such a treatment of history will add to its interest with the ordinary reader. He will probably feel it as wearisome as the young medical student does the dry details of osteology. But that good service may be done to historical truth by such a mode of treatment, we do not doubt. In the Statute-book will be found abundant means of confuting the theories of some of our philosophical historians, who first form their theory and then study the annals to find facts in confirmation.

We find in these volumes much valuable information respecting the earlier periods of our history. Good use has been made of those Greek and Latin writers who touch on British history; also of the Saxon Chronicles and the Anglo-Saxon Laws. Of the Northmen, whose influence greatly affected the fortunes of Britain, we have a brief but clear account drawn from Northern sources. Coins, seals and monuments, have been resorted to, to supply illustrations in woodcuts, and prove the uses of heraldry as an aid to the historian.

The "Annals" contain little that is new on the religious history of England. The Statute-book is but a bare record of the growth of a people's religion. A few extracts on this subject may, however, not be without interest, as illustrating the progress—certain, though slow—of religious liberty.

"1381. Unlicensed preachers (Lollards) ordered to be arrested and held in strong prison 'until they will justify themselves according to the law and reason of Holy Church' (5 Rich. II. st. 2, ch. 5).

"1394. The Lollards present a bold remonstrance to the Parliament, complaining of the wealth and power of the clergy.

"1401. An Act passed against the Lollards (2 Hen. IV. c. 15). No one was to preach without the bishop's licence, and persons accused of heretical opinions were to be judged by the diocesan, and punished at the King's pleasure if they recanted; but if not, to be burnt. William Sautre, a London clergyman, is burnt under this statute, Feb. 12.

"1413. An Archbishop of Canterbury (Thomas Arundel) holds a synod at St. Paul's, from Nov. 20 to Dec. 4, for repression of the opinions of Wickliffe.

"1414. The King seizes a party of the Lollards near London in the night of Jan. 6, 7; they are accused of designs against his life, are condemned, and many of them executed.

"1534. An Act passed for the punishment of heresy (25 Hen. VIII. c. 14). The statute of Hen. IV. was repealed as insufficient, and the statutes of Rich. II. and Hen. V. revived as more efficacious; but speaking against the Pope or his decrees was expressly declared not to be heresy. The Papal power in

England set aside by Act of Parliament (c. 21). Though the separation of the Church of England from that of Rome was formally accomplished in Henry's reign, it was in reality the effect of causes that had been in operation for centuries. The exactions of the Papal court had been frequently withstood, and its assumption of supreme power resisted, long before the time of Wickliffe; but from his days a succession of opponents of Rome and of sufferers for religion is readily to be traced. Wills occasionally occur without any provision for masses, an omission which betokens a disbelief of purgatory; a bishop was in the days of Henry VI. removed from office, whose opinions on many points resembled those of Wickliffe. This was Reginald Peacock, successively Bishop of St. Asaph and Chichester. He recommended the study of the Bible to the laity, approved of the marriage of the clergy, and censured ascetic observances. These opinions were condemned in a synod held at Lambeth in 1457, when he was deprived of his see, obliged to recant, and then retired to Thorney Abbey, Cambridgeshire, where he died. The Reformation was, indeed, far more a political than a religious movement with too many of its forwarders; it was a great work carried on by men actuated in the main by unworthy motives, such as love of power and greediness of riches, but by God's providence overruled to good, and thus more a subject for reverent thankfulness than if the means appeared, humanly speaking, less unsuitable to the end. * * The mere political views of Henry and his confederates appear equally from the course of their dealing with the discipline and doctrine of the Church. A layman (Thomas Cromwell) was appointed 'lord vicegerent in matters ecclesiastical,' and under that title superseded many of the functions of the bishops and controlled all the rest. Though Cranmer and some few others from the first doubtless had the desire to see the errors of Rome repudiated, as eventually came to pass, such was by no means the intention of the King. Cranmer gained from him permission to prepare a translation of the Bible, yet it was hardly completed when its use was limited by Act of Parliament (34 Henry VIII. c. 1), and attempts were made to supersede it by books drawn up in the King's name, which were asserted to contain 'all necessary doctrine,' but, except in matters avowedly levelled at the 'usurped power of the Bishop of Rome,' differed little from what had been formerly taught."

Turning from theological to purely political matters, we find the editor of these volumes sanctioning the modern theory respecting Richard II. which discredits his reported death at Pontefract Castle, and supposes him to have lived in Scotland for nearly twenty years after the date assigned to his violent death.

"The Parliament soon after (the deposition of Richard, Sept. 30, 1399) desired that he might be 'kept secretly;' and so fully was this carried out, that he soon after disappeared, and nothing is certainly known of the time, place, or manner of his death, though it is quite clear that the received account that he was murdered at Pomfret by Sir Piers Exton is untrue, and that the body exposed at St. Paul's (March 12, 1400) was not his, but probably that of Maudelyn, a priest, who bore a strong resemblance to him, and is believed to have been his natural brother. The English writers of the period all speak vaguely on the subject of Richard's death, and acknowledge that reports of his being alive were long circulated; but they appear to have been too much under the influence of the usurping Lancastrians to venture to say more. From documents among the public records of both England and Scotland, however, and the statements of Scottish and French chroniclers, it has been surmised with a high degree of probability that Richard escaped from Pomfret early in the year 1400, simultaneously with the rising in favour of the Earls of Huntingdon, Kent, Salisbury and others, and found a shelter in Scotland, where he was visited by some of his friends in 1402, and in 1405 by Creton, an emissary of his wife, Isabella of France; that he was found by him in a state of mental imbecility, occasioned by grief for the tragical fate of his friends,

and that the story of his murder at Pomfret was subsequently devised to serve the political views of the Duke of Burgundy (the actual ruler of France in consequence of the illness of Charles VI.). That some one existed in Scotland who for many years was ordinarily taken for King Richard is evident from the accounts of the Chamberlain of that kingdom, which speak of the expenses of the 'custody of King Richard of England' as late as 1417; in the same year Henry V. alludes to the 'mammet' (impostor) 'of Scotland,' in a manner which is conceived to shew that the term was dishonestly employed; and several Scottish chroniclers speak of his death at Stirling in 1419, one saying he died 'a beggar and out of his mind,' and another giving his epitaph."—Vol. I. pp. 400, 401.

But positively as the editor speaks on this subject, historical critics of no light authority continue with some modifications to accept the older story. We have seen some notes of a very interesting lecture on this subject, read before the Philosophical Society of York, by the Rev. John Kenrick, in which he shewed that there did not exist adequate proof of the escape of Richard to Scotland. The principal authorities of the story are the Scotch historians, Bower, the continuator of Fordun, and Andrew Wyntoun. The strong points against it are that Northumberland and Scrope do not in their manifestos make any allusion to Richard's being alive in Scotland, though it would have been so excellent a justification of their rebellion. It is very remarkable that, after the defeat of Scrope in 1405, Northumberland and Bardolph and several others fled into Scotland and wished to see the supposed King, but that he would not grant them an interview.

Mr. Kenrick did not doubt that the King died by voluntary or enforced starvation in Pontefract Castle, as the Minute of Council of February, 1400, states. It is true that they shew, or used to shew, in Pontefract Castle a post hacked by the blows of Sir Piers Exton's bill, as he struck at the King who clung to it. But the story of the assassination having once become popular as being more tragical, it was as easy to hack a post when tangible evidence was required, as Falstaff found it to hack his sword. This part of the story was disproved by the opening of the tomb, when the skull was found without a fracture. On the whole, the lecturer stated his inclination to believe that Richard in melancholy and despair refused food, that afterwards, when he repented and would have taken it, the organs of digestion had ceased to act. If Henry were on his trial for the murder, a discriminating Scottish juror would say, "Libel not proven," and an English juror would in the same spirit give the accused the benefit of a doubt.

On the subject of Richard III., the editor adopts the estimate of his character so ably advocated by Miss Halsted. This is his statement:

"The character by which Richard III. is popularly known was drawn in the first instance by two or three obscure writers who lived in the time of his victorious opponent; but their glaringly prejudiced statements have been adopted, and so embellished and recommended by the talents of Sir Thomas More, Lord Bacon and Shakespeare, that they have taken a place in history, and have caused him to be generally regarded rather as a monster than a man. The public statutes and records of his reign, however, exhibit him in a very different light, and their unimpeachable testimony ought to decide the question. It may too be remarked, that the crimes laid to his charge are not supported by anything like conclusive evidence; while it is certain that his succession to the throne was agreeable to the main body of the nation, which seems to have imitated the example of Saxon times in preferring the rule of a

man skilled in arms and government to the dangers of a long minority. His enemies are obliged to confess that he swayed the sceptre with vigour and ability, and that wise and equitable laws were enacted by his Parliament; they also allow him military skill and courage; and it is now well understood that his fall was the consequence, not of hatred caused by his crimes among the ancient friends of his House, but of the arms of his and their hereditary foes rendered triumphant by treachery.

"Brief and troubled as was the period of Richard's rule, several matters justly considered as of great importance at the present day date from it. The statutes of his Parliament are the first that were drawn up in the English language, as they were also the first that were printed; the office of consul, so necessary to the interest of merchants and travellers abroad, was established by him; and that great engine of modern convenience, the post-office, is based on a system of couriers established by him for the rapid transmission of intelligence during his campaigns in Scotland in 1481 and 1482. The public statutes of his reign may perhaps not be considered as conclusive evidence of the real character of Richard; but numerous entries on his Patent Rolls indicate with certainty that he has been unjustly treated by historians in general. They prove him, like monarchs of very different reputation, to have granted numerous pardons to his opponents, and to have been lenient in his treatment of their families; lavish in his own grants, and regardful of those of their predecessors; vigilant in providing for the defence of his shores and the improvement of his ports; anxious to repress piracy, and ready to compensate the sufferers; desirous to encourage trade by affording protection to merchants and foreigners, of which they must have been fully sensible, judging from the numerous denizations recorded; guarding the purchaser against frauds in the wool manufacture, and also protecting the workman by directing his payment to be made in 'ready lawful money.' In his private character he appears grateful for services rendered to his House in 'prosperity and adversity,' mindful of old servants, and willing to lessen his own revenue to benefit faithful towns or relieve distress. He devoted deodands and forfeitures to charity; liberated his bondsmen, founded a collegiate church and several charities; bestowed alms on various religious bodies, and was a benefactor to a college in each University."—Vol. II. pp. 100—102.

The editor of the Annals of England is evidently disposed to regard the youthful Richard who landed in Ireland in 1492, and claimed to be Duke of York, son of Edward IV., as no impostor. James IV. of Scotland proved the sincerity of his faith in the reality of the youth's claims, by receiving him as King Richard IV., and by giving him in marriage the Lady Katherine Gordon, a person possessing royal blood in her veins, indeed a kinswoman of the Scottish King. In his first imprisonment in London, Richard was not treated as an impostor, but as a prisoner of rank. The accusations brought against him and his principal supporters are described as "ridiculously contradictory and incredible," and "mere pretexts to get rid, not of an impostor, but of a prince who had already shaken Henry's power, and who it was feared might at a future day overturn it, if suffered to live." The papers, printed from originals in the British Museum, and published in the *Archæologia* (Vol. XXVII.), by Sir Frederick Madden, do not, in the opinion of the editor, justify the conclusion that Richard was an impostor. It is admitted that full evidence of the reality of his claim has not come down to us, but this is easily accounted for, as, excepting his proclamation of 1496, all that we know of him came from professed enemies. The hope is expressed that "the researches daily being made among the public records may eventually bring to light documents that may remove the uncertainty which has so long prevailed regarding this remarkable person."

We have now to speak of one serious fault which diminishes the value of these "Annals." In the latter portion of the work, Tory politics and Church bigotry are allowed to influence not merely the opinions, but the selection of facts. The struggle in Church and State that took place in the reign of Charles I. is viewed in the spirit of Laud and Strafford. Of the Puritan party nothing but evil is spoken. They "defaced the noblest edifices of the land," "closed the Universities, and annihilated learning." In the time of the Commonwealth, it is said, "nearly every pulpit in the land was at length delivered over to sectaries whose wild blasphemies threw into the shade the atrocious discourses of such men as Henderson and Love and Marshall and Peters." All the idle and malignant stories are accepted without a doubt, of the Puritan clergy having been gathered from "soldiers, tinkers, cobblers, weavers, stay-makers, glovers, nailors, saddlers," &c. The ordinance by Parliament of Aug. 16, 1643, allowing to the ejected clergy one-fifth of the profits of their livings, is described as "an affectation of humanity." The government of the Restoration is shielded from the charge of vindictiveness against the regicides. It is indeed admitted that the demeanour of these men at the bar and the scaffold shewed them to be of a resolute, unbending spirit; and we are spared a repetition of the disgraceful calumny imputing to some of these distinguished patriots cowardice at the scaffold.

While the editor writes tenderly of the nonjurors and enthusiastically of the clergy ejected during the Commonwealth, in chronicling whose sufferings he out-walkers Walker, he writes without one word of pity or kindness respecting the 2000 clergy ejected subsequently to the Restoration. The necessity of the Act of Uniformity is asserted, and the sufferings of the ejected clergy denied. The editor does not seem to have been aware that his statements respecting the enthusiastic support of the sufferers by the sorrowing members of the congregations to which they had formerly ministered, brings out in stronger colours the inexpediency, to say the least, of an act of the legislature which separated so large a portion of the most religious people of the kingdom from teachers whom they trusted and loved. The only accent of praise which escapes from the editor when speaking of the 2000 confessors of St. Bartholomew's-day, is that some of them "continued in communion with the Church, and constantly attended the ministrations of their successors."

It is greatly to be regretted that a work so promising in theory as this book of "Annals," should have been marred in execution by a spirit of High-church intolerance. Surely the time is coming when even Oxford (the birth-place apparently of this publication) will be ashamed of works calling themselves histories, written in the narrow and untruthful spirit of the latter portion of these volumes.

On certain Fallacies in our National Mortuary Returns. By Mr. Alfred Aspland.

This short paper, recently read before a Statistical Society in the North of England, discusses the important subject of vital statistics, the reliance to be placed on mortuary returns and on the tabulated arrangement of diseases drawn up periodically by the Registrar-General. The opinion expressed by the author of the paper (whose practice in the

midst of a dense manufacturing population gives him good opportunities for forming a judgment) is very damaging to our mortuary returns.

"The disease which destroys life, I fear, can in very few districts of England be considered even remotely approaching truth. The sources of fallacy are so numerous, the difficulties of attaining exactness so insuperable, that however conscientious a registrar may be, he must be constantly at fault.

"What are his sources of information? Does he receive statements from medical men, the only competent witnesses? But rarely, and for these reasons: There are three hundred medical registrars in England, and although they are, from training and occupation, the most trustworthy collectors of the information required by the Registrar-General, yet professional jealousy and suspicion not unfrequently create a reserve which ends in the refusal to give certificates. * * * A large majority of the professors of medicine refuse to send their certificates, and the registrars are obliged to glean their facts from perfectly untrustworthy sources. I have talked with many of these gentlemen, but I have never heard from any one that he considered that the returns he furnished to head quarters convey even an approximation to the truth. They gather their facts as directed by the act of parliament and draw their salaries, —and there it ends. The late Sir Astley Cooper strongly recommended the profession to aid the registrars in their work, and for a time they did so; but now the custom is more honoured in the breach than the observance, and I believe it will be found, that not one-sixth of all the recorded causes of death is the registry of science.

"Further; if all the qualified medical men in England furnished certificates, still, no reliance could be placed on the returns, and for this reason: In the north of England it is certainly the case, and probably in other parts, that at least one half of the deaths occur under unlicensed practitioners, herb doctors, water casters, bone setters, wise women, and the like. The registrar cannot receive their statements, and the process of obtaining the return is somewhat in this fashion. Amongst the poor there is, as you may readily imagine, a limited though fanciful nosology. In every street may be found several women who have a passion for attending sick-beds, and who are supposed to be skilled in diagnosis, or the discrimination of disease. Proud of their position, and desirous of maintaining their authority, they give bold and confident opinions. Many of them will be found to have a *penchant* for some particular ailment; they cherish a pet disease, which of course is accused whenever their judgment is demanded. One believes in worms, another in convulsions, either inward or outward; another cultivates swelling of the lungs, and so on. When a death occurs, one of these props of the national registry tramps off to the local registrar. Her knowledge of even the name of the deceased is often obscure, of his age still more so; but finding that these particulars are required, she cheerfully communicates them, and as she perhaps lives several miles off, no ready mode of correction is at hand, and the valuable statistical detail is complete. Twice it has fallen under my own observation, that the locality of the death has been knowingly falsified from motives of friendship to the bereaved family, which the informer was desirous of relieving from the stigma of living in a low neighbourhood. By two of my professional brethren I have been informed that this is often the case.

"In forwarding these defective returns the registrar is not to blame; he generally, I believe, makes the best use he can of his materials, and I doubt whether he would be able to furnish better if he personally visited the scene of every death. In an Irish family, for instance, an inquiry as to a death would almost unavoidably be met with, 'Oh, faith, he died of a pain in the heart!' An Irishman's heart extends between his chin and his toes, comprehending any point between the two. As a body, I believe registrars do their duty, and act up to their instructions. Some three hundred are medical men, and make the best of their materials; the rest are non-professional, and let us hope they do their best, though their best must necessarily be bad. I might

adduce some half a dozen instances of wilful neglect of duty, defended by assertions of the smallness of the pay; and as I believe these are exceptions to the rule, and that as a body they are faithful, it would not advance our knowledge to dwell upon these, and I willingly pass them by.

"In one instance, not from any wilful default, the names of streets in one registrar's books differed in three-fourths of the instances from the names in the overseer's books, and so entirely stultified the returns required by a government inspector. The reason was obvious: the district was large—too large for the registrar's personal knowledge—and as he depended upon reports of the relatives of dead persons, he was unwittingly misled. One superintending registrar was ignorant of the terms in ordinary use, and when requested by an inspector to furnish a list of zymotic diseases in a certain district, replied that he must first be told the meaning of the word; yet he had been registrar for many years. The only reliable returns are those furnished by qualified medical men to medical registrars, and as these only amount to a small per centage of the whole, and are overlaid by a large proportion evidently untrustworthy, the faithfulness of the whole is destroyed. And yet, at the close of every quarter the Registrar-General laboriously classifies his materials, and can show to an admiring world the exact proportion of the different classes of diseases, —the relation of zymotic to sporadic diseases, and subdivides the latter again into diseases of uncertain or variable seat, and those of specified parts or organs. Upon these unfaithful data scientific theories are founded in professional works. The mischief does not end here. Upon these Jack-o'-lantern figures, legislative enactments affecting the comfort, health, and liberty of millions of people are based."—Pp. 3—6.

Mr. Aspland admits the difficulty in finding a remedy; he thinks it can only be accomplished by degrees, and by a series of well-directed experiments. He suggests, as the commencement of the needed reform, that medical men, duly qualified, shall by a proper scale of fees be interested in sending in mortuary returns, and that such accredited documents shall alone be used in making summaries.

The subject is one of practical importance, and we hope that the discussion of it may soon evolve a remedy for the existing evil. In the mean time, we think the members of the medical profession would do well, postponing their own pecuniary interests to the public service, to follow the advice of the late Sir Astley Cooper, and give their zealous aid in effecting an accurate and complete registration of deaths. For moral courage and for laborious acts of philanthropy, the members of the medical profession are every where in this country honourably distinguished. Let them complete their title to honour as good citizens by banishing professional jealousy and reserve where the true interests of society and medical science ask them to make the sacrifice.

The Relation of the Sabbath-School to the Church: being a Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Yorkshire Association of Baptist Churches, held at Shipley in June, 1857. By the Rev. Samuel G. Green, B.A., Classical Tutor, Horton College, Bradford. London—B. L. Green, 62, Paternoster Row; W. Woodhead, 37, Market Street, Bradford.

We are anxious to introduce this excellent address to the notice of our readers. It shews that our own experience in the Sunday-school is but part of a larger one, and it abounds with admirable directions and enlightened sentiment.

Mr. Green states first the great end of the church:

"— to express in manifested form the will of Christ, and to do His work

in the world. The true kingdom of God is distinguished, not only by its faithful allegiance, its mutual love, and its internal repose, but by its constant warfare with the opposing Prince of Darkness. To maintain this strife is the work not only of individual believers, but of believers in their confederated power. To Christians associated, and associated ecclesiastically, is committed in sacred trust the cause of God and truth."

A perfectly organized church will undertake every needful effort for the religious benefit of mankind. Special necessities only will justify societies for this purpose distinct from the church. One of these necessities was the failure of the church in one branch of its duty, and hence the Sunday-school arose. The churches had one and all become careless of the Christian instruction of the young. An admirable caution is here introduced, happily now beginning to be more recognized:

"When we speak of the young as claiming the attention and care of the church, we do not forget that here God has Himself appointed another agency for their training. The FAMILY is older than the church; and parents have a responsibility which they can never delegate to strangers. To weaken the sense of this responsibility would be unmitigated mischief. No amount of Christian instruction beyond the threshold of the home can supply the lack of domestic culture. Perhaps one of the greatest evils of our time is the extent to which the family bond is loosened. Parents are careless—children independent and undutiful. Even Christian parents too often neglect to maintain a godly discipline, or confine it to the earlier years of childhood. Let not the church for one moment countenance this; nay, rather let it act upon the deep conviction that our own times do as truly need as did the days of old, that the hearts of the fathers should be turned to the children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers, lest the land be smitten with a curse."*

Christian help and compassion, however, had always been extended to the parent and child, though at a particular period it failed to reach the great mass of the youthful population:

"Some of the more glaring consequences of this neglect aroused the compassion of ROBERT RAIKES, at Gloucester, in the year 1784, as well as of some other persons in different parts of the kingdom about the same time, although less record of their labours has survived."

The Sabbath-school, Mr. Green observes, was thus brought to the church from without, not originated from within, and he thinks this fact accounts for many inconveniences in the working of the institution. The school, he says, is kept somehow before the people's minds, but all the while there is no sense of their being personally committed to the work, or responsible for its being properly done. The church supports the Sunday-school, recognizes it, perhaps is proud of it; but it cannot in any sense be said to be the church's charge or work. Substituting our more usual notion of congregation for church, do we not read off here our own not uncommon experience?

"Positive alienation and mistrust are by no means uncommon. The church is jealous of the school, and the school suspicious of the church. The teachers form an entirely distinct body, with plans, discussions, resolutions of their own. Church meetings and teachers' meetings become rival assemblies. The

* A sermon of Rev. J. J. Tayler's from this concluding verse of the Old Testament might well be kept before us by our Tract and other Societies; perhaps the Sunday-School Association would do well to take it up. It was addressed, we believe, to the Lower Mosley-Street schools, Manchester, and entitled, "The Parental and Filial Duties."

latter are found a congenial field for young and ardent spirits, self-willed in their independence, immature, and often undecided in their religious character. The least appearance of control is resented. We have known of cases in which even the pastor's right to attend the teachers' meeting has been denied, and in which the pulpit itself has been disposed of for anniversary services, without the formality of asking his consent. We often hear the school spoken of as the nursery of the church; but in such places the nursery has set up for an independent republic, and defies the rest of the family."

Mr. Green is very far from any ecclesiastical assumption, but he justly lays it down that if there is any institution aiming at spiritual results which cannot be incorporated into the system of the church, we must either pronounce the institution unscriptural or the church unfaithful. Rejecting the former alternative in respect of the Sunday-school, he impresses upon the church the responsibility and duty of taking this work into its own hands, that it may accomplish one part of its vocation in the world. To this end he makes some excellent suggestions. Amongst them are, that the affairs of the school be administered by a committee, including all the teachers or not, to be regarded as a committee of the church, chosen by it and comprising some of its most approved and judicious members, with the pastor as president; the committee to report to the church at its half-yearly or quarterly meetings. It will be vain, however, Mr. Green wisely remarks, to assert the right to control, unless there is manifested the disposition to sympathize. Therefore a church that deeply and truly feels the religious instruction of the young to be its own work, will always be ready to express the feeling by *wise and generous support*. Not by mere collections; but by providing ample accommodation, class-rooms, maps, class-books, library, arrangement of hours of service. Children, too, it is well added, require, if anything, rather more comfort in the house of prayer than the adult who can join intelligently in the service. But the great anxiety will be that the spiritual objects of the institution be fully answered. *That the labourers in the work should be duly qualified*, will be a matter of sedulous care.

"The teachers will be regarded as representatives of the church, expressing its tenderest sympathies with their own, and pleading on its behalf with the young for God. It must then become a serious question, whether those whose hearts are themselves untouched by divine grace, can possibly be fitting instruments of leading the little ones to Jesus. The introduction of fresh labourers into the field will ever have something of the solemnity of an ordination to work in God's vineyard. Such a task will never be abandoned to the youthful and immature, although their aid also will be gladly welcomed. Still less will the school be regarded as a convenient scheme for providing employment for young people, without regard to their fitness, but only lest they should become disaffected or troublesome. It will be regarded as a matter of deep interest to the whole community that its very best powers should be consecrated to the work. Christians of the largest intelligence, the widest culture, the most loving earnestness, will be selected. The church itself will often deliberately invite the most highly qualified of its members to take part in the school. It will not then be uncommon for parents, in whatever rank of life, to appear as teachers, bringing their little ones with them. The gray-haired will often be found there among the young. Days will speak, and multitude of years will teach wisdom."

Again:

"— for the sake of the church's work, and of the children's souls, give to half-a-dozen good teachers twenty or thirty children a-piece rather than supply

the classes by a crowd of thoughtless young people, too proud to learn and too ignorant to teach! But we firmly believe that few churches would be reduced to such an alternative. Let the field be regarded as a place of true and serious Christian work, and Christian labourers will be found."

Mr. Green next admirably touches on *the resources and methods of public worship* for the youthful mind and heart:

"— if there is one thing more important than another in the training of children, it is to form them to habits of reverence and love for the sanctuary."

And having spoken of the *parents' pew*,—

"We hold," he says, "that by no possibility can a similar interest be made to attach to the *children's gallery*. That part of a congregation is always to us a mournful sight. If the parents are present, the children ought to be with them in their seats; the separation is most unnatural and wrong—we often wonder how schools can require it, and fathers and mothers tolerate it. If the parents have forsaken the sanctuary, the sadness is deepened by remembering that no earthly shepherd can supply the lack of their piety and love to the lambs of the flock."

We wish we could go on citing the truly religious and rational suggestions of Mr. Green in reference to the best influences on the young in our schools. The difficulty of "separate services" is the rareness of qualification for conducting them well; the influence of even the slightest part which the minister can take in the school, even a five-minutes' visit, is hence of the utmost importance,—if possible, indeed, more than slight, as by quarterly or monthly services for the young: among ourselves there are instances, at least one instance, of the afternoon service every Sunday being so devoted. Ministers' classes are not unduly estimated when it is said,—

"The great importance of promoting an intelligent acquaintance with the Word of God will be an all-sufficient reason for his preferring these engagements to almost any others.

"Nay, there are aspects of truth which the pulpit itself cannot so fully exhibit, and there is a fulness of knowledge which it cannot so effectually impart, as the familiar, unformal discussions of a well-conducted Bible class."

The next part of Mr. Green's paper we quote at length, as especially shewing, what indeed his whole paper delightfully reveals, viz., the intelligent and devotional, or, in one word, the *enlightened* interpretation of religious theory. Would that we could always interpret religious systems by their best men! Would a thousand times more that religious bodies would suffer their systems to be so interpreted to themselves! Soon then would the enlightened of every sect ostensibly, as now virtually, be leading the converging hosts of Christendom to the final unity and victory of faith.

"In connection with these means of usefulness, there will be greater diligence, on the part of the whole church, *to understand the nature and to foster the growth of youthful piety*. We believe that the subject is one which has never been studied with that deep attention which its momentous interest demands. The churches have rested in the broad distinction between the regenerate and unrenewed, and in the general doctrine of God's sovereign converting grace; but it has not occurred to them to inquire into the methods in which that grace often operates in the earliest years of childhood, taking silent possession of the impulses and thoughts of infant years, gradually subordinating to its own great purpose the affections and resolves of youthful life, subduing by a power, omnipotent always, but progressively manifested, the forces of temptation and the evils of the heart; and leading, at last, to

the grand declared decision, made with all the ardour and with all the triumph of one who has long been a combatant, but whose victory is now secure, to serve the Lord.

"This struggle, indeed, we cannot see. When divine grace began its operations, we can no more tell than we can say when the day began to break. All we know is, that the light has struggled with the darkness, and that the morning has come. Such cases will be more and more frequent, in proportion to the spread of a true religious training. * * * We can but earnestly claim the attention of the churches to the subject, as one of the deepest importance to the religion of a future generation. Very subtle, indeed, and exquisite, and shrinking, are the religious workings of the heart of childhood. They need to be met with ready sympathy, and encouraged by patient love. Let them only be comprehended, and then there will be no part of the church's work conducted with a greater tenderness and care, and a more earnest avoidance of all that is rough and cold, or of aught that is careless and frivolous, than its dealings with the young."

Admirable remarks succeed on the secularities of school proceedings, the unseemly exhibitions and vain excitements which often accompany anniversaries:

"If, perchance, serious thoughts should arise in young hearts, reviewing the privileges and mercies of the past, contemplating the rapidity with which time is bearing them on, and bidden by the preacher's words to make the decision for God, is it not only too probable that such reflections may be rudely dissipated by the clash of all manner of instruments, and by the music of some anthem or perchance yet lighter strain, very melodious indeed, but most discordant with the deep throbbing earnestness of penitence and prayer?"

The religious dissipation, too, of roaming from anniversary to anniversary is properly rebuked.

One other passage we must quote,—a beautiful, excellent and greatly needed warning on the subject of popular adjuncts to the Sunday-school. A word, too, he has on thoughtless and irreverent psalmody in schools; but hear his strictures on Juvenile Missionary Associations, Bands of Hope, and the like:

"Nothing can be more praiseworthy than these efforts, when employed mainly as a *means of religious education*, leading children to know the pure delights of benevolence, or the holy beauty of self-denial. But facts often prove that it is quite too easy to lose the educational value of such institutions, to act as though they were an end in themselves, and so to involve their youthful members in a round of excitements and rivalries, of ostentation and bustle, which cannot but be deeply injurious. It was never intended that children should be the reformers of society and the evangelists of the world. Everything like display is most alien from the true character of childhood. Read, for instance, the record of the early years of Jesus. One anecdote is related—no more. 'He went down with his parents, and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them. . . . . And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man.' That is all; and the next record is that he 'began' his glorious ministry when 'about thirty years of age.' How much more impressive is this silence than the most copious detail could have been! The very model of Christian childhood and youth is here—silent, unobtrusive, submissive; yet, in that still seclusion among the hills of Galilee, devoting every growing power to his Father's service, and so treasuring up those energies which, when the time had come, were to bless and save the world. Depart from this example, and the first inevitable effect is to blunt the religious feelings, to create a vanity and appetite for personal display, utterly fatal to the growth of a deep and strong Christian character. Religion itself becomes a restless excitement, which too often, at the very first powerful

temptation, yields to other excitements, hurrying on the mind to sensuality, worldliness and everlasting ruin."

In the same spirit of wise religiousness Mr. Green pleads for the watchful care of the young through the successive stages of the discipline provided by his church (Baptist), carefully guarding his communion from its peculiar dangers:

"Too often the church at large knows nothing, spiritually, of its youthful catechumens until they are declared candidates for baptism; it eagerly welcomes them then, makes much of them perhaps for a little while, and then again allows them to be forgotten. Here is one reason why many young members of our churches so greatly disappoint the hopes of their religious friends. It was forgotten on both sides that the Christian profession, if the end of one series of struggles and dangers, is the beginning of others yet more severe. It is the time for affectionate watchfulness not to relax, but to deepen its anxieties."

These very wise and necessary cautions, as well as what is added on Prayer, may the more be taken home by ourselves, as we are as a church wanting in the outward and visible occasions of religious impression which other religious communions possess. It will be well if the times and seasons of the spirit which God only appoints are the more improved by us in consequence.

We earnestly hope that Mr. Green's paper will come into the hands of our own communion. We are sure it will be welcomed. It exactly touches our holiest chord—the practical religious memories, and we hope not memories alone, of our own best-ordered homes. Certainly let our Tract Societies give it free and unhesitating course. It will pass severest muster. Let our Sunday-School Association thankfully adopt it. It will be one of the best things it has issued for some time. Its closing topic is that which most painfully presses on us all, viz., What becomes of our Sunday-scholars?

"At the very crisis of life they were gone—who could tell why?"

Mr. Green justly answers the question:

"It was not to the church but to the school that they belonged. Never had they regarded themselves as the objects of earnest religious care on the part of the community. They looked to the school for Sabbath relaxation, pleasant companionship, stimulating excitement; but had never identified their occupations there with all that was to make their life noble, truthful and holy, and their eternity glorious. Life brought them its new engagements, its serious business; in these, the claims and duties of religion found no place. Accordingly they went out from us, and now where are they? Perhaps among the carelessly irreligious, though outwardly moral; or it may be, in a descent yet lower, 'walking in the counsel of the ungodly, standing in the way of sinners, or sitting in the seat of the scornful.'"

Again, in reference to the age preceding that of settlement in life:

"The one thing wanted was the right kind of teaching. Need we ask for proof? We appeal to the history of any school where a thoroughly qualified teacher has undertaken a select class. In a very few Sabbaths that class has been crowded. No matter where, the result is invariable. Only let such teachers be found, and due provision made for the convenience of instruction, and numbers will instantly throng to their side. The age of religious susceptibility is not past. The young are forward to give themselves into our hands, if we can only accept the charge."

It is the voice of God now to the richly blest—a voice unspeakably to enhance their blessing—"Give, and it shall be given to you; good mea-

sure, pressed down and shaken together and running over, shall men give into your bosom." Nay, it is a voice which pleads sometimes for their very salvation.

Mr. Green's position of the separation of the Sunday-school from the church, is sadly confirmed by the census fact that, to a very general extent, where Sunday-schools are largest in proportion to the population, church and chapel attendance is lowest. This part of his paper, with the statistical note at the end, we leave to thoughtful perusers of the paper itself. We shall simply conclude with one or two remarks from its conclusion, which embody our own deepest convictions:

"It is not too much to say that this [to be mighty in the Scriptures] is the great need of our times. To all atheistical assaults and sceptical cavils, the Bible itself, rightly understood and deeply felt, will ever furnish the best refutation. The secret of half the infidelity of our day is superficial acquaintance with the Book of God; and the degrading superstitions, whose prevalence occasionally startles and appals us, own the self-same parentage. Teach the Scriptures, thoroughly, earnestly, devoutly; and both the superstition and the infidelity will disappear. * * *

"Our comprehension of heavenly truth is very imperfect, our appreciation of it very cold. We speak of those who come to learn from us; let us not forget that we ourselves are but learners too. * * *

"Without prayer, we can never hope for a blessing; but prayer, without wise and strenuous effort, is but a mockery. Let these be combined in our Sunday-school labours, and the promises of God assure us that the largest success will follow. The school will be to the church but as the outer court to the sanctuary: there will our young men and maidens, in joyful and increasing crowds, present their vows of consecration; and there, from the lips of the little ones, as in his Father's house of old, will Jesus perfect praise."

What are we to preach about? A Discourse. By Henry Solly, Minister of Carter-Lane Chapel, London. London—Whitfield.

Mr. Solly answers this question, so far as we can gather his meaning from this somewhat discursive address, by deciding that the Christian preacher should mainly speak of the redemption effected through Jesus Christ. He also speaks of the manner in which we are to preach, and directs attention to the preachers in orthodox churches who command the popular attention. For our own part, while earnestly advocating true gospel preaching, we should greatly regret its being confined within any narrow pale of topic or of thought. If there be godliness of spirit in the preacher and earnestness of manner, there is an infinite range of subjects in Nature and Providence, as well as in Grace, through which the wise teacher may lead the thoughts to God and goodness. There is, too, a great fallacy in supposing that what is attractive to the mass of hearers, unprepared as they are by intellectual habits or theological knowledge to appreciate close reasoning or a rational system of faith, will satisfy the demands of thoughtful and cultivated hearers. The earnestness that frequently characterizes orthodox preaching may certainly be imported with advantage into our pulpits; but we have little desire to hear from them the monotonous inculcation of theological dogma, and the arrogant assumption of the prophetic function, which are often the prominent characteristics of the popular religious teaching of our time.

INTELLIGENCE.

FREE PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

[From the Ency. Britt., Vol. XIII., art. Libraries, by E. Edwards, Esq.]

Under the "Public Libraries Act" of 1850, or under the supplementary Acts that have followed it, free rate-supported Libraries have already been established, or are now maintained in the following cities and towns, namely, Manchester, Liverpool, Bolton, Salford, and Warrington (in *Lancashire*); Oxford; Cambridge; Westminster; Norwich; Winchester; Sheffield; Lichfield; Kidderminster (*Worcestershire*); Leamington (*Warwickshire*); Birkenhead (*Cheshire*); Ennis (*Clare*); and Dundalk (*Louth*). At Birmingham, Cheltenham, Exeter, Haslingden (*Lancashire*), Hull, in the metropolitan parishes of Islington and St. Marylebone, and in the city of London, propositions for the adoption of the Act have been for the present negatived. By the corporations of Bristol, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and of Preston (*Lancashire*), preliminary steps with a view to the ultimate adoption of the Act have been initiated. Similar steps have also been taken in Aberdeen, at the instance of the present Lord Provost (John Webster, Esq., Advocate); and we believe in some smaller towns and in parishes in various parts of the United Kingdom.

The city of Manchester was the first to establish a public Library under the Act of 1850. Small collections of books, attached to museums of natural history, had previously been established (under Mr. Ewart's Museums Act of 1845) by the Town Council of Warrington in 1848, and by that of Salford in 1849 (at the recommendation of the late Mr. Brotherton, M.P., whose attention had been called to the subject at the sitting of the "Select Committee on Public Libraries," which commenced its inquiries early in that year); but no power to levy rates avowedly for the support of libraries existed in the United Kingdom until 1850. The movement in Manchester was originated in the course of that year by Sir John Potter, then its Mayor, and a public subscription was raised which ultimately amounted to £12,823. Out of this sum a building was purchased and adapted to its new purpose; and £4156 was spent in books. The number of volumes so obtained was 18,028, and the number presented by various donors 3292. A poll of burgesses on the question of permanently maintaining the library by rate under the Act, was taken Aug. 20, 1852. The ayes were 3962, and the noes 40. The library was transferred to the Corporation, as an inalienable public institution, on the 2nd September following, and was then opened as a consulting library to all comers (without any recommendation or other preliminary); and as a lending library to all persons producing a sufficient voucher of responsibility. It was the first library in the kingdom which offered these facilities; and during the first four years of its working, it has issued to readers and to borrowers collectively 584,792 volumes. During the same period 11,255 volumes were added to the library, partly by purchase and partly by gift. Of the aggregate issue above mentioned, 322,103 volumes were lent to borrowers, and all the uncompensated loss which has fallen on the Corporation in consequence of this unprecedented freedom of circulation, independently of course of fair wear and tear, will be fully covered by a sum of twenty-five shillings. The increased Library rate of one penny in the pound will produce in Manchester £4000 a-year, part of which sum will shortly be applied to the establishment of branch lending collections in other parts of that city. The total sum hitherto raised by rate amounts but to £7485. The total contents of the library in October, 1856, were 32,573 volumes; the classification of which is as follows: I. *Theology*, 1062; II. *Philosophy*, 421; III. *History*, 11,371; IV. *Politics*, 6830; V. *Sciences* and *Arts*, 2885; VI. *Literature* and *Polygraphy*, 10,004. Thus it will be seen 18,000 volumes out of 32,000 are either historical or political. This preference has been deliberately given, for the reason that the selection of two or three principal departments of literature, as the main characteristic of the library, will enable the City Council in course of time to make the collection one of the highest class and value as respects those departments; whilst, on the other hand, the formation of an encyclopædical library, of equal value in all departments, would have been an aim too wide to be thoroughly attained. The library is frequented by *all* classes of the community, from those of least up to those of greatest education. Merchant and artizan, mill-worker and

clergyman, may be seen reading at the same tables; and as this (in Great Britain) is one of the most novel, so will it in its ultimate issues prove to have been one of the most pregnant results of rate-supported libraries, maintained by the payments of all classes, for the permanent use, the mental recreation, and the spiritual elevation of them all.

Liverpool, though second in the start, bids fair to be in some respects first at the goal. Its Free Library was established under a special Act (Liverpool Library and Museum Act, 1852), which provided alike for the library, for the noble museum of natural history bequeathed to the town by the late Earl of Derby, and for its botanical gardens. A sum of £1400 was subscribed (for the purchase of books); the further sum of £21,846 has been voted by the Town Council. This library, under regulations copied from those of Manchester, was publicly opened on the 18th of October, 1852, with a collection for use within the building of 11,877 volumes; and on the 18th of October, 1853, with two branch collections for the loan of books, in the northern and southern districts of the town, containing together about 2000 volumes. The reference collection has now increased to 21,020 volumes, and the two lending collections to 13,254 volumes, making an aggregate of 34,274 volumes. The total issues from the former have been 526,801, and from the latter, 364,347 volumes. Out of the issue to borrowers, but four books have been lost, without replacement by the losers. As to the Reference Library, "the conduct of the readers," says the last Report, "and the care taken of the books, have been beyond all praise. Many of the artizans have expressed their gratitude and high appreciation of the privilege of consulting the valuable works in their various departments, more especially in shipbuilding, cabinet and iron-work, and in various branches of practical science." This great success has necessitated the erection of a new and large building. The Town Council early in 1856, advertised for designs for such an edifice, and a collection of drawings or sketches, from not fewer than 115 architects, was sent in. A second competition by 16 selected architects was invited, and the designs received were exhibited in St. George's Hall. But the assigned limit as to cost was greatly exceeded by those designers whose projects best pleased the eyes of the committee. Great difference of opinion existed in the Town Council, and a third series of plans was about to be invited, when Mr. W. Brown, M.P. for South Lancashire, offered to take the whole charge of erecting the building upon himself. The plan which he is understood to have approved cannot, it is stated, be carried out at a less cost than £25,000. The first stone of the new structure was laid in April, 1857.

Salford, which had continued to increase the small but useful reference collection attached to its excellent museum, opened its Free Lending Library in May, 1854. The former contained in November, 1856, 12,603 volumes, and the latter 5952 volumes. The aggregate issues from both collections up to the date last named, amount to 476,825 volumes. The working of the library has been so satisfactory that a large expenditure has been incurred to increase the accommodation for readers, as well as that allowed to the museum. A total sum of £7942 has been raised by subscription for books and building purposes, and a further amount, somewhat exceeding £6000, has been raised by rate or voted by the Town Council. Even in the small town of Bolton, a sum of £3195 has been raised by subscription, and a further sum of £1500 by rate; a library of 15,000 volumes has been formed, partly for reference and partly for circulation; and the aggregate issues in three years have exceeded 285,000 volumes.

In the cities and towns of the south and the east of England, the working of the Library Acts has been too recent to afford results similar to those of which we have thus given an abstract for some of the towns of the north. But the experience of all, so far as it has extended, is highly satisfactory. There is, however, one point more especially affecting the southern and eastern towns, which claims brief notice, inasmuch as it possesses practical and present interest. We refer to those few existing town libraries of ancient foundation, several of which might usefully be made the groundwork, and others the adjuncts, of free libraries supported by rate.

In every instance, we believe, save one, these old libraries have fallen into neglect. Ipswich has a small collection which dates from 1580. In Norwich, a public library was founded in 1608, and was afterwards much augmented by several benefactions. In Bristol, another was founded by R. Redwood in 1615. In Manchester, Humphrey

Chetham, an eminent clothier, founded a library in 1653, and gave it by his last will a considerable endowment. A century later Dr. Shepherd * * founded a town library at Preston. There are other small town libraries which cannot here be enumerated. Parochial libraries, of more than a hundred of which we have before us a chronological list, must also be passed over, with the bare remark that a great many of the latter were intended more especially for the use of the clergy, as parsonic heir-looms, so to speak, and that it was with a view to the preservation of these for succeeding incumbents, that the Act of the 7th Anne, c. 14, was passed in 1709.

Both at Bristol and Norwich, the intentions of the founders have been utterly set aside by the unwarrantable transfer of these city libraries to private societies composed of shareholders and subscribers. But in both instances a vote of the municipal Councils will suffice to restore them to their proper purpose. Neither possesses any present maintenance fund; both contain valuable books, and will make excellent foundation-stones for free libraries. At Preston, the corporation is already prepared to take this step. The case of Manchester is peculiar. Chetham's library is the only town library of the 17th century which possesses a serviceable endowment; but even here the amount and efficiency of it have been seriously impaired, partly by reason of the subsisting connection between the library fund and that of the school of the same founder, a school which has been productive of great good to the district, but which to some extent has thriven by impoverishing its neighbour, —and partly by reason of large expenditure on the restoration of the curious old baronial hall, of which both library and school are the occupants. This library possesses 18,200 printed volumes and 137 MSS. It is rich in historical works (up to the middle of the last century indeed, it is a fine collection), but its good old books lack those good new books, without which they lose half their proper value. There is, however, some reason to hope that the precedent about to be set in Dublin, will have its due influence in Lancashire, as well as in Norfolk and Gloucestershire.

WARWICKSHIRE UNITARIAN TRACT SOCIETY.

The fifty-first annual general meeting of this Society was held in the Old meeting-house, Wolverhampton Street, Dudley, on Wednesday, August 26.

The religious service was introduced by the Rev. D. D. Jeremy, of Warwick; and the Rev. Charles Berry, of Leicester, preached on the hindrances to the diffusion of Unitarian Christianity and encouragements to the maintenance of it, from 2 Thessalonians iii. 1: "Finally, brethren, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may have free course and be glorified, even as it is with you." The discourse was marked by the simplicity, clearness and vigour of style and natural earnestness of utterance which are characteristic of Mr. Berry's addresses from the pulpit, at the same time that it was (as stated in the subsequent vote of thanks) eminently "Christian and apostolical." It was listened to throughout with an unremitting interest by the younger as well as the elder part of his audience.

At the meeting for business immediately after the religious service, the chair was taken by Mr. W. H. Brooke, who has for so many years efficiently filled the office of Deputy Treasurer for Dudley. In the unavoidable absence of the Treasurer, Charles Clifford, Esq., his statement of account was read by the Secretary, the Rev. Samuel Bache; and each of these gentlemen was subsequently re-appointed to his office, in connection with the acknowledgment of his services for the past year. Several new names were added to the list of subscribers. About 60 ladies and gentlemen afterwards dined together at the hotel, under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. Davison, the recently-elected minister of the Dudley congregation; and subsequently about 200 members and friends of the Society assembled, under the same able presidency, in the girls' school-room, which was elegantly fitted up for the occasion, and where tea was provided. In the course of these proceedings, the time-honoured Nonconformist toast, "Civil and Religious Liberty all the world over," was eloquently proposed from the chair, and responded to, in a very enlivening and humorous speech, by Thomas Yate Lee, Esq., of Kinver. In reply to the toast, "Prosperity to the Warwickshire Unitarian Tract Society," to whose members then assembled in their annual meeting the Chairman, in the name of the Unitarians of Dudley, gave a cordial welcome, the Rev. Samuel Bache dwelt at considerable length on the great antiquity, the unbroken continuance and the undimin-

ished importance of the Unitarian controversy, and the consequent value of this Unitarian Tract Society. He observed how few persons there are who understand distinctly what Christian Unitarianism really is, and noticed the recent revival of active endeavours to give prominence to those doctrinal views to which Christian Unitarianism is diametrically opposed. He animadverted on the vague and mystical character of many of the more popular religious writings of the day, and pointed out how great are the dangers both to truth and liberty that must be apprehended from their increasing prevalence, concluding with a brief recommendation of the principles and objects of the Warwickshire Unitarian Tract Society as designed and adapted to check their injurious influence.—In reply to the grateful acknowledgment of his very interesting services as the preacher of the day, the Rev. Charles Berry referred to the last occasion of his having preached before this Society, which he did at Kidderminster forty-two years ago; and in the course of his observations dwelt very earnestly on the importance of great clearness of enunciation and plainness of speech in addresses from the pulpit, whereby they may be easily intelligible to the poorer members of our several congregations, and will not be the less acceptable to men of higher intellectual culture.—The Rev. Stephenson Hunter spoke with his accustomed earnestness to the toast, "The great work of Popular Education;" and the Rev. Charles Clarke, in acknowledging, on behalf of "the Visitors," the hospitality and kindness of the Dudley congregation, characterized the meeting as one of the most successful he had ever known in Dudley, and expressed his conviction that the fundamental principles of Unitarian Christianity should be set forth in as simple and emphatic a form as possible, and that no greater good could be done than by the universal diffusion of them.

Such is a brief account of this interesting anniversary—the fourth that has been held in Dudley; the three former having been severally in the years 1808, when the Rev. John Kentish was the preacher -- 1819, the Rev. Stephen Weaver Browne—and 1834, the Rev. Rees Lloyd. A wish was kindly expressed that the interval until the next anniversary meeting of the Society in Dudley may not be so long as that which has elapsed since the last.

OLDBURY DOUBLE LECTURE.

This long-observed annual meeting of the friends of religious liberty and nonconformity was held on Tuesday, Sept. 8th, in the old Dissenting chapel, Oldbury, when a respectable number of lay friends and ministers of the Unitarian congregations joined in religious services appropriate to the occasion. The introductory duties were performed by Rev. Charles Clarke, of Birmingham; after which a practical discourse was delivered by Rev. John Gow, of Cheltenham, from Luke vi. 19: "Virtue went out of him and healed them all." This was followed by a discourse by the Rev. Thomas Hunter, of Coventry, from 1 Cor. ii. 14: "The natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit of God; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned."

After divine service, the ministers present and a number of lay friends dined together according to annual custom, the Rev. William M'Kean in the chair, supported by W. B. Brooke, Esq., of Dudley, in the vice-chair. The usual toasts were given,—The Queen —Civil and Religious Liberty all the world over—The Ministers who conducted the services of the day, &c. The Memory of the 2000 Ejected Ministers, was eloquently responded to by the Rev. John Gordon, of Edinburgh. An animated and friendly discussion of Mr. Hunter's discourse also took place, particularly as he defined the offices of man's intuitive, sentimental and intellectual nature in the religion of Christ.

The most gratifying occurrence was the appearance of the revered and venerated friend of all present, the Rev. S. Bache, sufficiently strengthened after his late affliction to take his place at this annual meeting, from which he has not been absent for many years.

NORTH-OF-ENGLAND UNITARIAN CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

The twelfth anniversary of this Association, and the forty-fourth of the Tract Society, was celebrated at Newcastle and Welburn on Sunday and Monday, the 23rd and 24th of August. The religious services were conducted on Sunday in the Church of the Divine Unity, Newcastle-on-Tyne, by the Rev. J. Scott Porter, M.A., of Belfast, who preached two admirable discourses, illustrative of the power, purity and scripturality of the Unitarian faith, to the edification and delight of large audiences. In the course of the fore-

noon service, the report of the Association was read by the Rev. G. Harris. It gave details of the labours of the several preachers, lay and ministerial, in the villages near Newcastle, eleven giving their help in missionary work; the usefulness of the Sunday and week-evening schools in the villages, and the further openings contemplated.—Monday, the 24th, about seventy of the members and friends from Newcastle, Gateshead, Cherton and Sunderland, proceeded by railway to Slingsby, in Yorkshire, where they breakfasted together. Castle Howard, with its art-treasures and lovely scenery, occupied the forenoon very pleasantly. Joined by friends from York, Malton, Hull and Welburn, a considerable gathering assembled in the afternoon to a social repast in a large barn adjoining the Crown inn, Welburn. Mr. Harris presided, and addresses were made by him, the Rev. J. Scott Porter, and the Rev. H. V. Palmer, of York. Deep and solemn interest was imparted to the proceedings by the announcement of the decease of the promising young minister, the Rev. Herbert Dunkerton. His virtues, with those of the founders of the interesting congregation of Welburn, associated with the memories of the old Nonconformists, naturally called up by the day of the meeting, received, it is hoped, fitting and impressive eulogy. In the evening, a public meeting was held in the neat little chapel at Welburn. Singing and prayer appropriately introduced brief abstract of the Association report, and remarks by Messrs. Porter; Shannon, of Hull; Spears, of Sunderland; Hornsby, of Newcastle; and the Chairman, Mr. Harris. The meeting closed with prayer and praise. Mr. Harris having invited the friends to meet at the chapel in the morning, to engage in a service preparatory to the funeral obsequies, which he and other ministers would afterwards conduct at Malton, a large company assembled at eight o'clock. Mr. Harris and Mr. Porter offered prayer and read the Scriptures; hymns also were sung. The company met at nine o'clock in the barn to breakfast, passing the forenoon in the woods and park of Castle Howard; the ministers with a few others proceeding to Malton, and rejoining the friends in the park at an early hour in the afternoon, prior to departure to Slingsby, whence, after tea, the railway conveyed those who had gathered from so long distances to celebrate this Christian anniversary at Welburn rejoicingly, to their various homes, happy in their Christian communion amidst such scenes of beauty, chastened by the remembrance that even there death will enter, yet only to translate to still higher and holier blessedness.

A SUNDAY-SCHOOL GATHERING.

It is the custom of the teachers of the Sunday-school connected with the Old chapel, Dukinfield, to hold at least two social tea-parties on a large scale during the year. At one, commonly held on Christmas-day, the scholars and the teachers meet; at the other, the teachers invite the parents of the scholars, and old scholars and teachers, to give them the meeting. The latter reunion took place on Saturday, Sept. 19, and was attended by more than 350 persons, of whom a large proportion consisted of parents of scholars. The minister of the chapel presided, and was assisted by several neighbouring ministers. From Rev. J. Panton Ham, Rev. John Cropper, Rev. F. Bishop and Rev. G. H. Wells, letters of apology were received. After tea, addresses were delivered by Rev. John Wright, of Bury, on *The Sunday-School essentially a Religious Institution;* and by Rev. Charles Beard, of Gee Cross, on *The Moral and Religious Responsibilities of Teachers.* The Rev. J. Bayley, of Stockport, addressed the mothers on their duties. In one of the addresses given by the Chairman, the catholic principles of the schools, which were designed for the children of parents of all denominations, were enforced, and comments were made on the attempts of a little troop of Church curates, who, instead of seeking to instruct the neglected children who go to no schools, were canvassing to obtain the children who already frequent Dissenting schools. Mr. Freestone, the Visitor on behalf of the Manchester District Sunday-School Association, gave some practical counsels to teachers and parents. A few words of counsel, or sympathy, or congratulation, were spoken by Mr. Broadrick, one of the directors; by Mr. Oldham, the minister of the church of the Christian Brethren in Dukinfield; and by Mr. Gee, a former teacher, now residing elsewhere. Such meetings may leave little to record that is novel or striking, but it is believed by those who have watched their influence and effect that they are very useful in furthering the good objects which Sunday-schools have in view; that

they warm the zeal of teachers, and bring about increased co-operation between them and the parents of those whom they labour to benefit. A more agreeable meeting, more united in spirit and sustained in tone, than the above, was never held in Dukinfield.

STRATFORD, ESSEX.

A neat place of worship, fronting the main road on the Essex side of Bow Bridge, capable of accommodating about 200 persons, and formerly occupied by the Wesleyan Association, was re-opened during the past month by a few earnest Unitarian friends, with the view of introducing an enlightened and liberal Christianity into this populous neighbourhood. The opening services were conducted on Sunday, Sept. 13th, and Monday evening the 14th, by the Rev. William Forster, of Kentish Town; and on the following Sunday by the Rev. J. Panton Ham, of Manchester. The promoters of this Unitarian effort have reason to believe that a very promising sphere of labour presents itself to the earnest and self-denying minister who has undertaken to conduct the religious services in this place, and to endeavour to form here the nucleus of a new Christian society. It should be known to all interested in the diffusion of Unitarian Christianity, that the Rev. Thomas Rix, for some years a minister among the Wesleyan Methodists, has committed himself to this enterprize without the prospect of, at least, any immediate remuneration, and in conjunction with two other sympathizing friends, the Rev. W. H. Black and Robert Sale, Esq., of South Hackney, has accepted all its pecuniary responsibilities. Rather more than £120 are needed to complete the purchase of the lease and premises, the cost of assignment, necessary repairs and furniture. The chapel is leasehold, having 45½ years to run, at a small ground-rent of £7. 10*s.* per annum. The British and Foreign Unitarian Association has liberally afforded its aid, by the grant of £25 towards the purchase; and for the like purpose the London District Unitarian Society has also granted £5. Any friends who may be disposed to aid this new effort at Unitarian evangelization are informed that contributions will be thankfully received by the following ministers and gentlemen: Rev. Thomas Rix, 1, East Street, Manby Park, Stratford; Rev. W. H. Black, 15, Mill Yard, Goodman's Fields, London; Robert Sale, Esq., Grove Street, South Hackney; Rev. John Briggs, Snorgate House, Dover; Rev. B. Mardon, Sidmouth, Devon; by the ministers who officiated at the re-opening; and by Mr. John Webb, at the office of the Unitarian Association, 178, Strand, London.

OBITUARY.

July 17, at her residence in Moreton-Hampstead, in the 80th year of her age, Mrs. S. White, widow of the late Mr. Thomas White. Her course through life was in the paths of integrity and uprightness, and her conduct gained her the respect and esteem of a large circle of friends and relatives. To the poor she was kind and charitable, and many of them, mourning her loss, say it is one which will long be felt.

Aug. 22, at Malton, Yorkshire, aged 25, the Rev. Herbert Dunkerton. This amiable and promising young minister should not pass away without some brief record. Herbert Dunkerton was born at Warminster, and brought up to the trade of printer. Early evincing a love of knowledge, his heart thirsted for Christian usefulness. The Home Missionary Board gave him the opportunity of preparing to carry out his earnest longinge. Illness at Manchester, whilst engaged in his studies, prevented the fulfilment of his original intentions. Recovering, however, sufficiently his health to undertake the duties of the ministry, he removed to Malton and Welburn. The residence of a few months secured for him the respect, esteem and affectionate regards of very many friends of all denominations. Had he lived, he would have seen of "the travail of his soul" for human well-being. Earnest, pious, benevolent, persevering, he would have won his onward way. He entered heartily into the arrangements for the anniversary of the North-of-England Association. He wished them carried through, though he could not participate, as he once had hoped. His re-

mains were attended to the chapel at Malton by a mournful procession of friends of the congregations of Malton and Welburn, the Revds. J. Shannon, of Hull, J. Scott Porter, of Belfast, Robert Spears, of Sunderland, and G. Harris, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and other friends. The services were conducted in the chapel to a sorrowing and sympathizing audience by Messrs. Shannon, Spears and Harris, the latter also uttering the closing words and prayer at the grave.

Aug. 26, at Stockton-on-Tees, Mr. Robert Clephan, in the 80th year of his age.

Aug. 27, aged 18 years, Wm. Henry, third son of the Rev. Samuel Bache, of Edgbaston.

Aug. 29, at the residence of Rev. A. Lunn, Manchester, in the 36th year of his age, Mr. James Lunn, of Brooklyn, New York, second son of Rev. James Lunn, Warrenpoint, Ireland.

Aug. 30, aged 1 year and 10 months, Ernestina Louisa, daughter of Rev. S. Alfred Steinthal, of Liverpool.

MARRIAGES.

Aug. 2, at the Old chapel, Dukinfield, by Rev. R. Brook Aspland, M.A., Mr. Luke Child, of Oldham, to Miss Mary Haigh, of Dukinfield.

Aug. 4, at the parish church, Dwygyfylchi, Carnarvonshire, Samuel Smith Travers, Esq., St. Swithin's Lane, London, to Louisa, eldest surviving daughter of S. D. Darbishire, Esq., Pendyffryn, near Conway.

Aug. 9, by Rev. George Harris, in the Church of the Divine Unity, Newcastle-on-Tyne, William Irwin to Ann Findley Stevenson. Both the parties having been scholars in the Sunday-schools belonging to the congregation, and subsequently teachers, a handsome quarto Bible was presented to them as a token of respect and regard.

Aug. 9, at the Presbyterian chapel, Newbury, by Rev. R. Shelley, Mr. William Fulbrook to Miss Mary Ford.

Aug. 10, at Bronwylfa-Street chapel, St. Asaph, by Rev. Charles Wicksteed, B.A., uncle of the bride, Edward, fifth son of George Filliter, Esq., Trigon Hill, Dorset, to Bithia, eldest daughter of T. Wicksteed, Esq., civil engineer, London.

Aug. 10, at the Unitarian chapel, Lord Street, Oldham, by Rev. C. W. Robberds, Mr. B. Kenyon to Miss Hannah Armstrong.

Aug. 20, at the Unitarian chapel, Brixton, Edward Berry, Esq., of Kingston, Canada West, son of Rev. Charles Berry, of Leicester, to Ada, second daughter of Elhanan Bicknell, Esq., Herne Hill, Surrey.

Aug. 20, at Gee-Cross chapel, Cheshire, by Rev. Charles Beard, B.A., John Hibbert, Esq., of Hyde, solicitor, to Mary, only daughter of Thomas Hibbert, Esq., of Godley.

Sept. 3, at Renshaw-Street chapel, Liverpool, by Rev. J. H. Thom, Henry, eldest son of J. G. Fordham, Esq., of the Priory, Royston, Hertfordshire, to Mary, eldest daughter of the late J. D. Thornely, Esq., of Liverpool.

Sept. 3, at Bank-Street chapel, Bolton, by Rev. F. Baker, M.A., Mr. Thomas Rigby to Hannah, daughter of Mr. Wm. Horrock, of Bolton.

Sept. 5, at the Bank-Street chapel, Bolton, by Rev. F. Baker, M.A., Mr. Joseph Roscoe to Jane, daughter of the late Mr. William Ainsworth.

Sept. 9, at the Unitarian chapel, Upper Brook Street, Manchester, by Rev. J. H. Hutton, Julius Israel, Esq., of Leeds, to Maria, second daughter of Meyer Frank, Esq., of Manchester.

Sept. 10, at the Old chapel, Dukinfield, by Rev. R. Brook Aspland, M.A., Charles James, eldest son of John Hyde, Esq., to Bertha, youngest daughter of the late Jeremiah Lees, Esq., of Kelsall House, Stalybridge.

Sept. 14, at the Unitarian chapel, Lord Street, Oldham, by Rev. C. W. Robberds, Merrick Armstrong to Betty Kenyon.

Sept. 17, at Mill-hill chapel, Leeds, by Rev. Samuel Crawford, John William Read, Esq., Woodhouse Cliff, to Elizabeth, daughter of John Atkinson, Esq., East Parade, Leeds.